DOUBLE ISSUE DECEMBER 18, 2017

# Person of the Year

# TIME

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**2016 "MOST DEPENDABLE MIDSIZE CAR, COMPACT SUV, LARGE HEAVY DUTY PICKUP AND MIDSIZE SPORTY CAR"**

*The Chevrolet Sonic, Chevrolet Tahoe, Chevrolet Silverado HD and Chevrolet Camaro received the highest numerical scores in their respective segments in the J.D. Power 2017 U.S. Vehicle Dependability Study, based on responses from 35,186 U.S. original owners of 2014 model-year vehicles after three years of ownership about problems experienced in the past 12 months, surveyed in October–December 2016. The Chevrolet Malibu, Chevrolet Equinox, Chevrolet Silverado HD and Chevrolet Camaro received the highest numerical scores in their respective segments in the J.D. Power 2016 U.S. Vehicle Dependability Study, based on responses from 33,560 U.S. original owners of 2013 model-year vehicles after three years of ownership about problems experienced in the past 12 months, surveyed in October–December 2015. Your experiences may vary. Visit jdpower.com.*

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JAL
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TIME
VOL. 190, NO. 25–26 | 2017

**ISABEL PASCUAL**
The strawberry picker, who's using a pseudonym, spoke out against harassment

**ADAMA IWU**
The California lobbyist led a charge to call out harassment in state politics

**ASHLEY JUDD**
The actor was one of the first to publicly accuse Harvey Weinstein of harassment

**SUSAN FOWLER**
The engineer's blog post exposed Uber's toxic workplace culture

**TAYLOR SWIFT**
The singer-songwriter countersued her groper for $1—and won

**ANONYMOUS**
The hospital worker reported her office harasser but still fears consequences

**The Choice**
*By Edward Felsenthal* **30**

**The Silence Breakers**
*By Stephanie Zacharek, Eliana Dockterman and Haley Sweetland Edwards* **34**

**ON THE COVER:** *Photo composite by Billy & Hells for TIME. Swift photographed on Nov. 16 in Los Angeles; Pascual, Iwu, Judd, Fowler and Anonymous photographed on Nov. 19 in San Francisco*

# THE SHORT LIST

NO. 2 | THE AGITATOR

**DONALD TRUMP**

By Molly Ball, page 72

NO.3 | THE CHAIRMAN

**XI JINPING**

By Karl Vick and Charlie Campbell, page 80

NO. 4 | THE ENFORCER

**ROBERT MUELLER**

By Massimo Calabresi, page 90

NO.5 | THE THREAT

**KIM JONG UN**

By Norman Pearlstine, page 96

NO.6 | THE IDEALIST

**COLIN KAEPERNICK**

By Sean Gregory, page 100

NO. 7 | THE TRAILBLAZER

**PATTY JENKINS**

By Belinda Luscombe, page 108

THE PEOPLE WHO SHAPED OUR WORLD IN 2017


**From the Editor 7**

THE YEAR IN ...

**Covers 12**
Readers react to our biggest stories of the year

**Quotes 15**
Memorable statements from the year's newsmakers

**Firsts & Lasts 16**
A sampling of the most talked-about milestones

**Heroes 18**
The people (and dog) who helped others

**Smart Auto 22**
How self-driving and electric cars drove the news

**Make-Believe 24**
The most influential fictional characters

**Things 26**
Inanimate objects that made news

THE BEST OF CULTURE

**Movies 114**
The 10 best films

**Performances 117**
The 10 that shone onscreen

**Television 118**
The 10 best shows

**Music 120**
The 10 best albums

**Books 122**
The 10 best in fiction and nonfiction

**Theater 127**
The 10 best musicals and plays on and off Broadway

**Endnote 128**
*Gone Girl* author Gillian Flynn on men



TIME (ISSN 0040-781X) is published by Time Inc. weekly, except for two skipped weeks in January and one skipped week in March, May, July, August, September and December due to combined issues. **PRINCIPAL OFFICE:** 225 Liberty Street, New York, NY 10281-1008. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY and additional mailing offices. **POSTMASTER:** Send all UAA to CFS (See DMM 507.1.5.2); **Non-Postal and Military Facilities:** send address corrections to TIME Magazine, P.O. Box 62120, Tampa, FL 33662-2120. Canada Post Publications Mail Agreement No. 40110178. Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to: Postal Station A, P.O. Box 4322, Toronto, Ontario M5W 3G9. GST No. 888381621RT0001.


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CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: BENJAMIN RASMUSSEN; AP/SHUTTERSTOCK; AL MESSERSCHMIDT—AP; MICHAEL BUCKNER—DEADLINE/SHUTTERSTOCK; MARCO GROB; KRISZTIAN BOCSI—BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES

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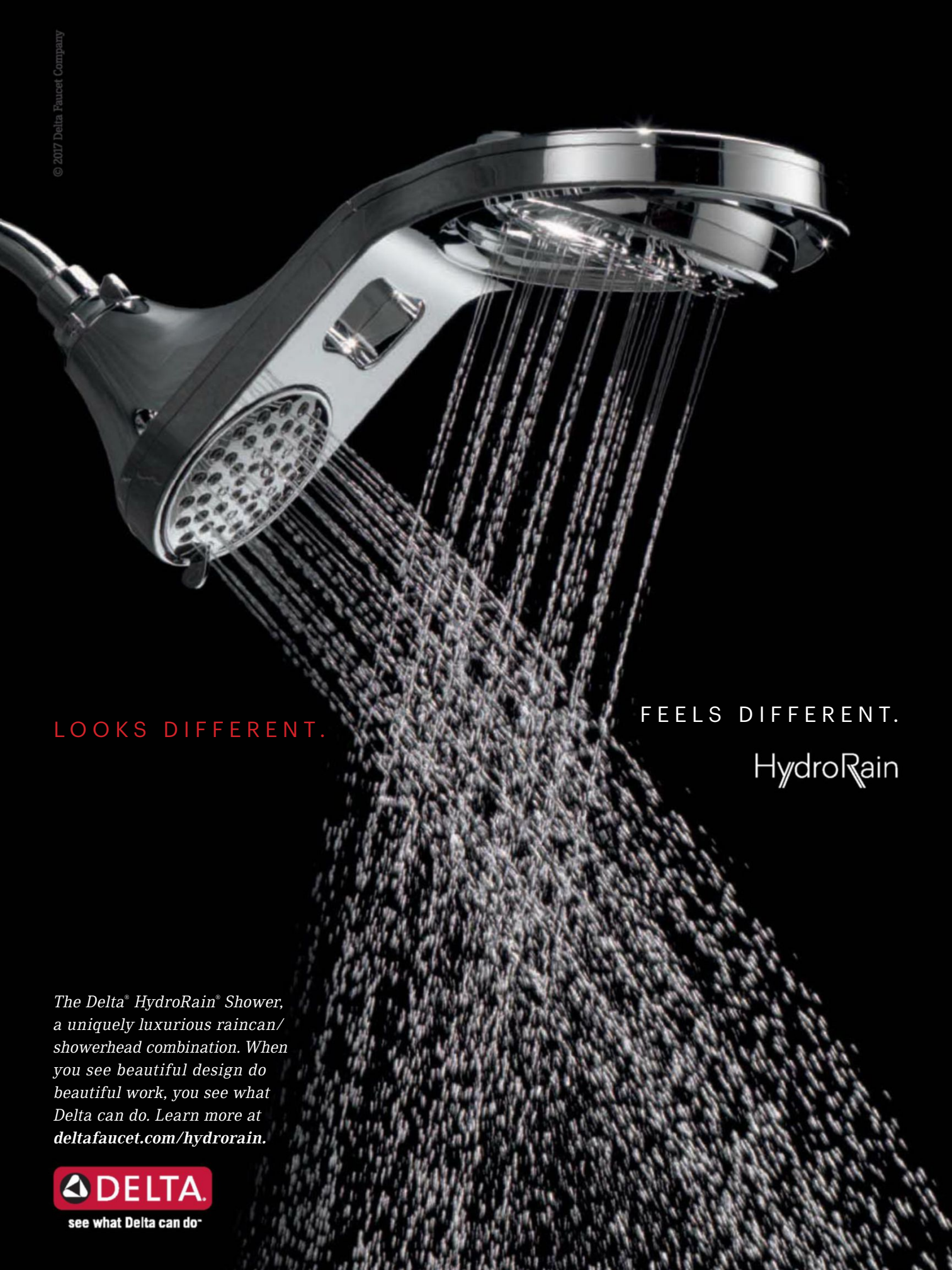


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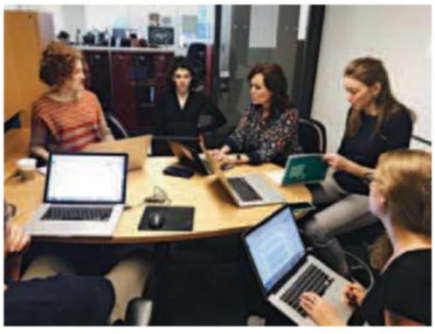

The team behind Person of the Year. Top left, from left: writers Stephanie Zacharek and Charlotte Alter, story editor Susanna Schrobsdorff, and writers Haley Sweetland Edwards and Eliana Dockterman meeting about the project. Bottom left, from left: video editor Kate Emerson and producers Julia Lull, Spencer Bakalar, Diane Tsai and Justine Simons editing an interview with actor Selma Blair. Above, from left: senior engineer David Kofahl, editor-in-chief Edward Felsenthal, senior producer Tara Johnson, associate art director Chelsea Kardokus, assistant managing editor Ben Goldberger and Dockterman outlining the package in their second home, a secret conference room called "the bunker."

KARA MILSTEIN FOR TIME (3)

# BEHIND THE SCENES

EACH YEAR, WE BEGIN THE PROCESS OF CHOOSING the Person of the Year—this is the 91st time we have done so—with a late-September meeting of the staff. The nominations are varied and the debates vigorous, never more so than in this moment of extreme disruption. Nearly one year in, President Trump has dramatically changed the way the Executive Branch functions and altered U.S. relationships with allies and adversaries. Chinese President Xi Jinping, having consolidated internal power to a degree not seen in decades, made clear that his country is prepared to assume the mantle of world leadership. Kim Jong Un, the mysterious totalitarian leader of North Korea, escalated global tensions by testing increasingly powerful missiles, the latest capable of reaching Washington.

Then, on Oct. 31, I walked into a windowless conference room we call "the bunker," where Eliana Dockterman and Haley Sweetland Edwards had been reporting on women who had come forward during the year with personal stories of sexual harassment and assault. Spread across a 12-by-5-ft. table were the results of their work: scores of small rectangular pieces of paper, each listing the names of accusers, their job sectors and their stories. This was more than three weeks before the Charlie Rose and Matt Lauer cases became public, but already it was apparent that this story had a velocity and scale beyond anything else that we had seen. Barring major news developments in the last weeks of the year, this would be our choice.

Guided by deputy editor Kira Pollack and Susanna Schrobsdorff, the reporting team expanded to include writers Stephanie Zacharek and Charlotte Alter; West Coast editor Sam Lansky; video producers Spencer Bakalar, Diane Tsai and Julia Lull; and photo editor Kara Milstein. For the portraits, we commissioned the Berlin-based photographers Billy & Hells, whose work conveyed the emotional resonance and power we were seeking for the package. The shoots were expertly overseen by senior producer Tara Johnson. The issue was designed by Chelsea Kardokus, with Victor Williams. The digital experience was created by David Kofahl.

The impresario of the Person of the Year franchise is assistant managing editor Ben Goldberger, who notes that this year represents something of a departure. "Often the choice reflects institutional power—Presidents, Prime Ministers, Popes," Ben says. "This year is an important reminder that the world can also be transformed from the ground up."

**THE READERS' CHOICE**

Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman took first place in TIME's online poll, which asked readers who they thought should be Person of the Year. The participants in the #MeToo movement came in second.

**24%**

Percentage of votes cast for bin Salman as the most influential person of 2017

*Edward Felsenthal,*
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF | @EFELSENTHAL

# 2017 THE YEAR IN COVERS

READERS REACT TO OUR BIGGEST STORIES

9

**"Beware of the so-called safety of disappearing in 10 seconds!"**

**RICHARD MANSBACH** of Erie, Colo., reacting to our March 13 story about the tech company Snap and its disappearing-message app

16

*"There are people reaching high, and bringing us up with them."*

**SARAH DESCHAMPS** of Naples, Fla., on the TIME 100

19

**"Until there is proof [Russia] has influenced or is influencing the man who now resides in the White House, I believe he deserves to have the same respect that I gave a person when I had to make an arrest."**

**RETIRED SEATTLE POLICE SERGEANT JOY A. MUNDY** on Massimo Calabresi's May 29 story about Russia's use of social media to influence Americans

23

*"For all the smarts the tech industry has, I can think of nothing dumber than not embracing the intelligent resources offered by women and minorities."*

**KRIS SOWOLLA** of Los Gatos, Calif., lamenting the homogeneous company culture described in Katy Steinmetz and Matt Vella's June 26 story on the upheaval at Uber

25

**"You sometimes forget there's a guy whose main job is making shields and spears."**

**SEAN SULLIVAN** of Fredericton, New Brunswick, on Daniel D'Addario's July 10–17 dispatch from the set of the hit HBO series *Game of Thrones*

28

*"Patients benefit from medication. But often not unless they do their homework."*

**GEORGE SIGEL,** a Norwood, Mass., psychiatrist, on Mandy Oaklander's Aug. 7 story on using ketamine to treat depression

30

**"No greater danger to a democracy than mob rule, and no greater dangers to humanity than unfettered hate and indifference to the plight of others."**

**DR. DENNIS MORITZ** of Punta Gorda, Fla., on the Aug. 28 special report on hate in the U.S. in the wake of violence in Charlottesville, Va.

41

*"I admire [him] and wish for many of the same objectives in our USA."*

**ANN WINN JOHNSON** of Jonesborough, Tenn., on Vivienne Walt's interview with French President Emmanuel Macron in the Nov. 20 issue

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# QUOTES

2017 THE YEAR IN

## ‘THIS AMERICAN CARNAGE STOPS RIGHT HERE AND RIGHT NOW.’

**PRESIDENT TRUMP,** in his Inaugural Address on Jan. 20

### FEBRUARY

**‘What ... does she have to do to win Album of the Year?’**

**ADELE,** objecting after her album *25* beat Beyoncé’s *Lemonade* at the Grammys

### MARCH

**‘I am sorry that I could not finish the presidential duty that was entrusted to me.’**

**PARK GEUN-HYE,** former President of South Korea, after being removed from office on charges of corruption and abuse of power

**‘I have one client. It’s the law.’**

**NEIL GORSUCH,** Supreme Court Justice, promising to keep politics and other outside influences from entering into his judgments, during a confirmation hearing

### APRIL

**‘This is not my fault ... but I’m taking responsibility.’**

**JA RULE,** rapper and co-founder of Fyre Festival, after poor planning forced organizers to cancel the music event, leaving many attendees stranded in the Bahamas

## ‘EVERYONE SAID IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE. BUT THEY DIDN’T KNOW FRANCE!’

**EMMANUEL MACRON,** 39, after beating far-right Marine Le Pen to become the youngest French President in history on May 7

### JUNE

**‘The President said, “I need loyalty, I expect loyalty.”’**

**JAMES COMEY,** former FBI director, in his first public comments since his dismissal

**‘I told you when I was 8 years old. We did it.’**

**KEVIN DURANT,** NBA player, speaking to his mother while accepting the NBA Finals MVP award, after winning the league championship

**‘This is not vindication or victory.’**

**STEVEN T. O’NEILL,** judge, announcing that the jury could not reach a verdict in actor Bill Cosby’s sexual-assault trial

### JULY

**‘Dance for me, boy!’**

**CONOR MCGREGOR,** MMA star, taunting Floyd Mayweather Jr. while promoting their boxing match; his remarks were widely criticized as racially insensitive

**‘I wanted to be represented, as simple as that.’**

**RAYOUF ALHUMEDHI,** 16-year-old Saudi living in Vienna, after Apple agreed to add the iOS emoji of a girl wearing a headscarf, which she had proposed the previous September

**‘I basically have spent a conflict-free life.’**

**O.J. SIMPSON,** former football star, successfully arguing for his release before a Nevada parole board, after serving nine years of a 33-year prison sentence for his role in an armed robbery in Las Vegas

### AUGUST

**‘The Trump presidency that we fought for, and won, is over.’**

**STEPHEN BANNON,** Trump’s former chief strategist, after leaving the Administration and retaking the helm of Breitbart News, a right-wing website

### SEPTEMBER

**‘Roof is gone.’**

**ROOSEVELT SKERRIT,** Prime Minister of Dominica, in a Facebook post, before being rescued from Hurricane Maria, which pummeled the Caribbean with Category 5 strength

**‘The situation seems a textbook example of ethnic cleansing.’**

**ZEID RA’AD AL-HUSSEIN,** U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, accusing Myanmar authorities of intentionally driving out more than 313,000 Rohingya Muslims, who fled to neighboring Bangladesh

**‘I’m not his groom.’**

**VLADIMIR PUTIN,** Russian President, refusing to answer a question about Trump

## ‘THEY TRIED TO KILL MY CHILD TO SHUT HER UP. WELL, GUESS WHAT? YOU JUST MAGNIFIED HER.’

**SUSAN BRO,** after her daughter Heather Heyer was fatally struck by a car on Aug. 12 while protesting white nationalists in Charlottesville, Va.

**‘If you do not condemn this divisive rhetoric, you are condoning it!’**

**RICHARD SHERMAN,** Seattle Seahawks cornerback, after President Trump called on the NFL to fire players who don’t stand during the national anthem

### OCTOBER

**‘No referendum has been held in Catalonia today.’**

**MARIANO RAJOY,** Prime Minister of Spain, declaring the Catalan independence referendum invalid amid a bloody police crackdown to stop the vote

**‘If you’ve been sexually harassed or assaulted write “me too.”’**

**ALYSSA MILANO,** actor, promoting a global solidarity campaign inspired by the revelation of extensive sexual-harassment allegations against Harvey Weinstein

### NOVEMBER

**‘Just roasting chicken.’**

**MEGHAN MARKLE,** actor, explaining how Prince Harry proposed to her, in their first TV appearance following their engagement

2017 THE YEAR IN

# FIRSTS & LASTS

THE MOST TALKED-ABOUT MILESTONES

BY OLIVIA B. WAXMAN

JANUARY
FEBRUARY
MARCH
APRIL
MAY
JUNE
JULY
AUGUST
SEPTEMBER
OCTOBER
NOVEMBER
DECEMBER

**JAN. 8**
***La La Land***
First film to win seven Golden Globe Awards

**JAN. 25**
**Dow Jones industrial average**
First time trading above 20,000

**FEB. 6**
**Queen Elizabeth II**
First British monarch to reach a Sapphire Jubilee, marking 65 years on the throne

**APRIL 17**
**Neil Gorsuch**
First day on the bench as a U.S. Supreme Court Justice

**JUNE 18**
**Pakistan**
First-time winner of the International Cricket Council Champions Trophy, after beating rival India

**AUG. 21**
**Solar eclipse**
First to cross the continental U.S. since 1918

**SEPT. 18**
**Lena Waithe**
First African-American woman to win an Emmy Award for Outstanding Writing for a Comedy Series

**SEPT. 25**
**U.S. Marine Corps**
First female officer graduates from Infantry Officer Course

**NOV. 7**
**Danica Roem**
First openly transgender candidate elected to the Virginia house of delegates

**JAN. 6**
**Megyn Kelly**
Last night anchoring a Fox News show

**JAN. 19**
**President Obama**
Last full day in office

**APRIL 15**
**Emma Morano**
Last known person born in the 19th century dies at age 117 in Italy

**MAY 21**
**Ringling Bros.**
Last circus show; ticket sales had declined after live-elephant acts ended in 2016

**AUG. 5**
**Usain Bolt**
Last solo race for the track star, who has won eight Olympic gold medals

**SEPT. 15**
**Cassini**
Last day in orbit before the 20-year-old spacecraft plunged into Saturn

**OCT. 13**
**Flight 666**
Last Friday the 13th flying of Finnair's famous flight to HEL (i.e., Helsinki Airport)

**DEC. 31**
**Britney Spears**
Last scheduled show of her blockbuster Las Vegas residency, *Piece of Me*

GETTY IMAGES (13)

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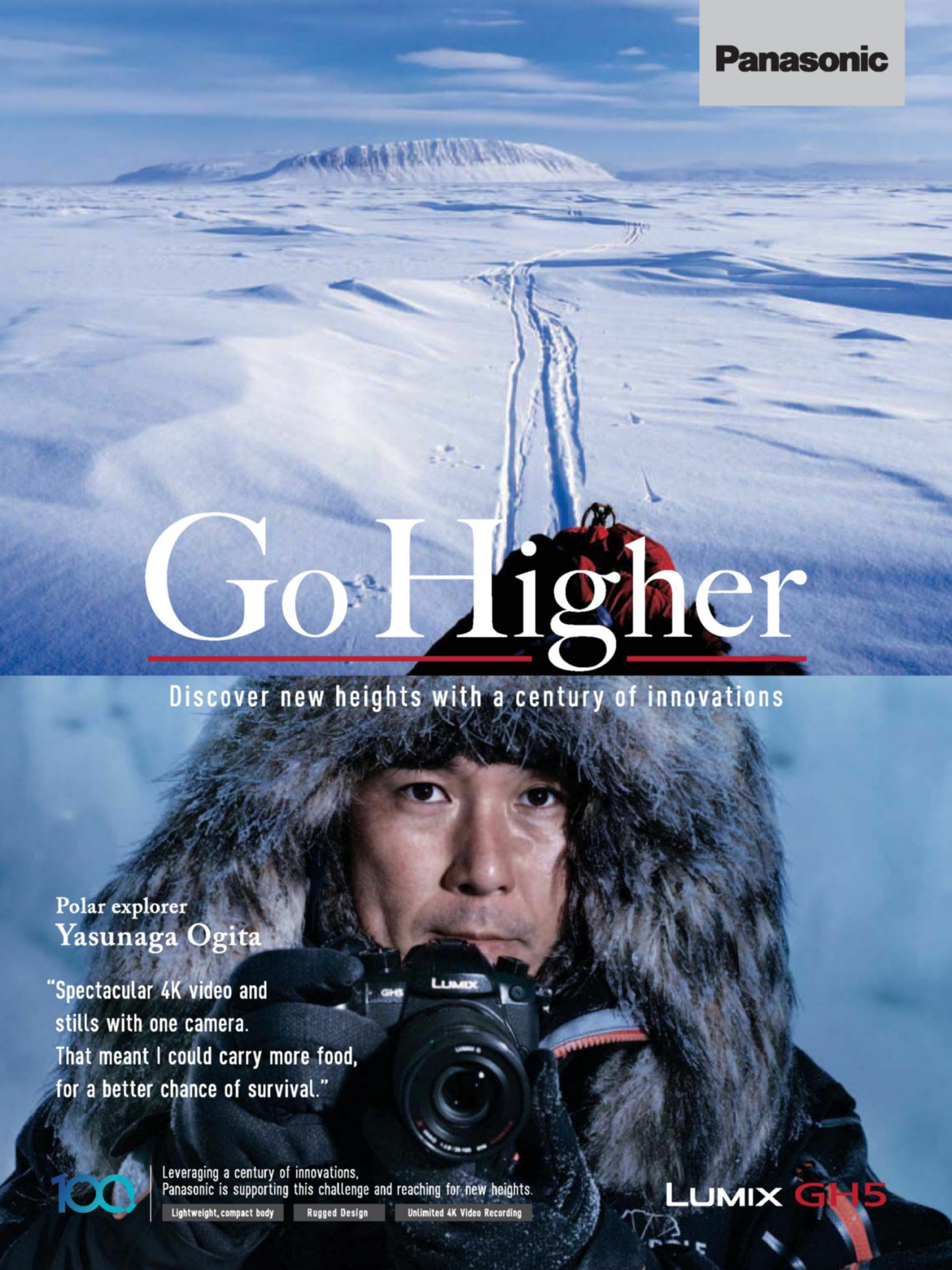


Polar explorer
Yasunaga Ogita

"Spectacular 4K video and
stills with one camera.
That meant I could carry more food,
for a better chance of survival."

100

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LUMIX GH5

# 2017 THE YEAR IN HEROES

PEOPLE (AND A PUP) WHO HELPED OTHERS

BY MELISSA CHAN AND MAHITA GAJANAN

## THE CHEF WHO FED PUERTO RICO AFTER MARIA

After watching Hurricane Maria ravage Puerto Rico in September, killing dozens and leaving much of the island without electricity, chef José Andrés started cooking and has barely stopped. He quickly mobilized a team that has offered far more fresh, hot meals than have government organizations and agencies like the Red Cross. Through his nonprofit, World Central Kitchen, which aims to empower communities through food, Andrés has served more than 2.8 million meals via a network of kitchens across the island. Andrés hopes to show that chefs can be just as essential as medics when disaster strikes. "You bring doctors for health care in disasters," he says. "When you have to feed people and be creative about it, you will bring in cooks."

World Central Kitchen's operations began to wind down in October as more local grocery stores reopened, but Andrés, based in D.C., returned to Puerto Rico in November with plans to continue serving food through Christmas. "We still have a crisis in the heart of America," he says. He anticipates a total of more than 3.2 million meals will have been served by year's end.

## THE DOG THAT REFUSED TO LEAVE OTHER ANIMALS BEHIND

While wildfires ravaged California's wine country this fall, forcing thousands of people to flee their homes, Odin, a pet dog, stayed behind to protect his family's eight rescue goats. The 1-year-old Great Pyrenees, a livestock guardian dog, paced back and forth in front of his charges as his owners rushed to evacuate their 35-acre forest property in Sonoma County on Oct. 8. "I looked at him, and he wasn't going," says Odin's owner, Roland Hendel. "I said to him, 'O.K., Odie, you got this then. Take care of the goats and we'll be back to get you.'" Hendel felt "terrible guilt and sadness," fearing he'd left his beloved puppy to burn in the wildfires that killed at least 44 people and hundreds of animals. When the 49-year-old electrical engineer returned to his property the next day, a surreal sight greeted him amid the burning trees, smoke and ash. "I could make out Odie's tail wagging," Hendel recalls. Odin's fur and whiskers had been singed, but he and all the goats were left mostly unscathed. "He was so happy to see me, and he was very proud of himself," Hendel says. Odin demonstrated courage and perseverance, according to his owner, but he also taught his human counterparts to value life over material things. "Odin risked his life to save those goats, and that's a big part of the lesson," Hendel says. "Life is so precious."

ANDRÉS: ERIC ROJAS—WORLD CENTRAL KITCHEN; ODIN: ROLAND TEMBO HENDEL

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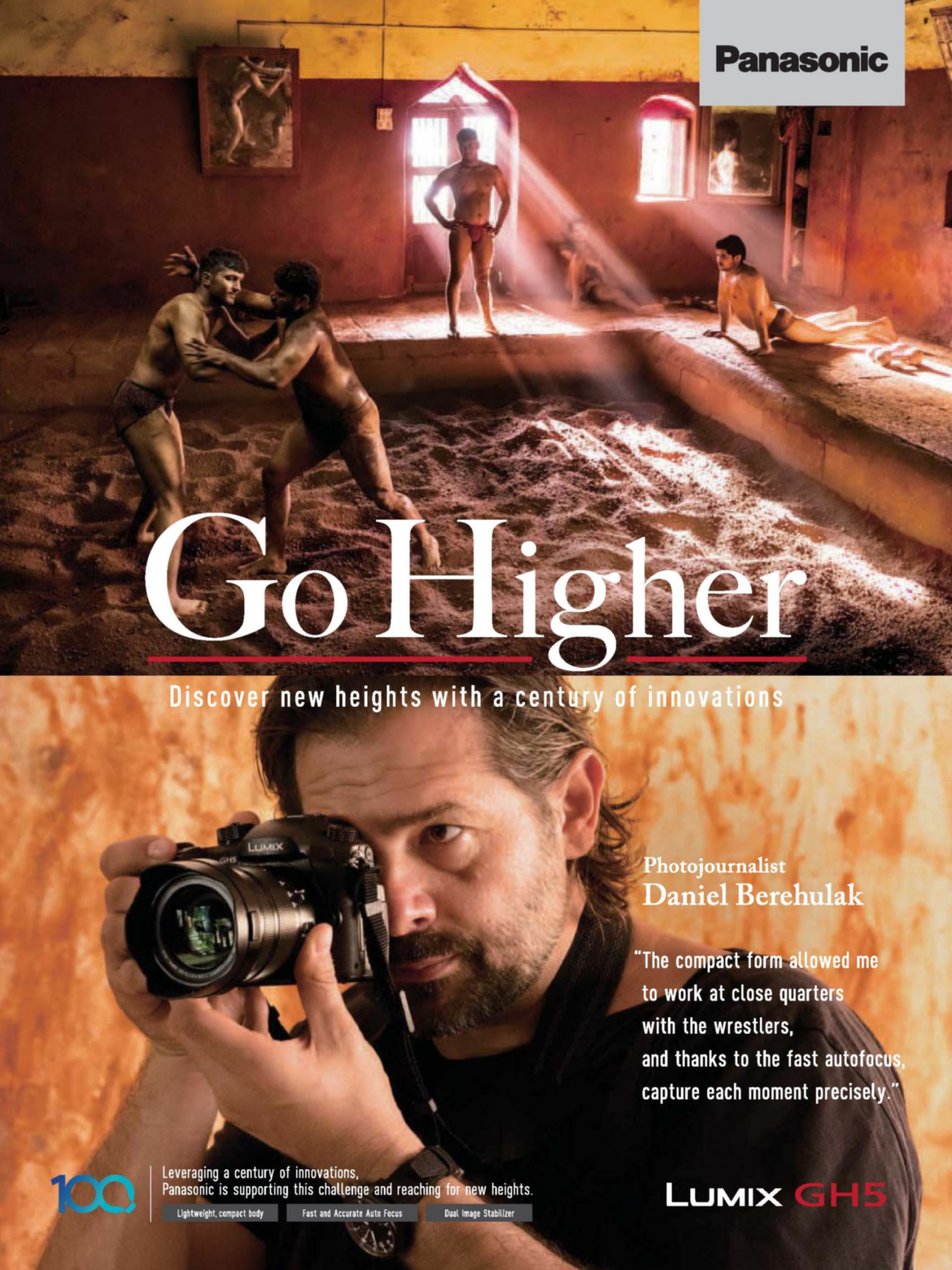


Photojournalist
Daniel Berehulak

"The compact form allowed me to work at close quarters with the wrestlers, and thanks to the fast autofocus, capture each moment precisely."

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LUMIX GH5

## THE NEIGHBORS WHO FORMED A HUMAN CHAIN DURING HARVEY

As Hurricane Harvey pounded Houston on Aug. 27, Annie Smith went into labor at home. Her husband Greg Smith, an anesthesiologist, was preparing to deliver the baby himself after he was unable to get through to 911, when neighbors and a group of firefighters arrived to help. Fearing the mother-to-be could get swept away in the rising water, neighbor Tara Gower, an off-duty EMT, ordered everyone to form a human chain. They locked arms, enabling Annie to cling to them as she made her way to a waiting truck. "Your own safety you don't think about until later," Gower says. The couple's daughter Adrielle was born early the next morning. Her parents say her birth reminded them of people's inherent goodness. "When something bad happened, people's true character unfolded," says Greg, "and it was exceptional."

## THE DAD WHO SAVED LIVES AMID VEGAS MASSACRE

When bullets rang out at the Route 91 Harvest country-music festival in Las Vegas on Oct. 1, Jonathan Smith could have fled. Instead, the 30-year-old father of three raced back toward danger to help about 20 strangers—many of whom were too frozen in fear to move. He picked up a woman off the ground and carried her to safety. He lifted another who had fallen, and he roused many to start running. "I just did what anybody would do," says Smith, who services copiers for a living. "No one deserves to be in that situation and be left like that."

Fifty-eight people were killed in the deadliest mass shooting in modern U.S. history, and more than 500 were wounded—including Smith, who was shot while helping two young girls who were hiding behind a mini SUV. (The bullet is still lodged in the lower left side of his neck.) But because many people, like Smith, sacrificed their own safety to help others escape the line of fire, countless lives were also saved.

After the massacre, one of the people whom Smith had helped recognized him on TV and emailed to thank him. "I was the lady you saw fall in front [of] you on the sidewalk outside of the concert," wrote Brenda Sillito. "I don't have the right words to tell you how amazing you are for all you did that night and helping so many people, but you are."

Sillito, 60, of Canada, says many people ran past her as she was lying on the sidewalk within range of gunfire. Smith was the only one to stop. "It took me at least a week after I tracked him down to write the email because I wanted to use the right words," she says. "I wanted him to really understand how important he was to me that night. I feel, honestly, that he saved my life."

## THE BARGOER WHO STEPPED INTO THE LINE OF FIRE

Ian Grillot was watching a basketball game at a Kansas bar on Feb. 22 when a gunman walked up to a pair of Indian men, reportedly told them to "get out of my country" and opened fire. Grillot initially ducked for cover along with the rest of the people at the crowded bar—but in an instant, he decided to try to subdue the shooter. "I wouldn't have been able to live with myself if I didn't do anything," says Grillot, now 25. He jumped up and rushed the gunman from behind, but before he could reach him, a bullet pierced his hand and entered his chest, where it remains.

The gunman wound up killing one of his targets, a 32-year-old engineer, and injuring the other. (He was captured several hours later.) But in the wake of the shooting, which was deemed a hate crime, Grillot was hailed for his attempt to fight bigotry; India House Houston, a community center in Texas, even raised money for him, which he used to buy his first home. Jiten Agarwal, a leader in the group, said Grillot "reminds us of the promise of America and its greatness."

HARVEY: MOLLY AKERS; SMITH: HEATHER LONG—THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY IMAGES; GRILLOT: THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS HEALTH SYSTEM

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# SMART AUTO

2017 THE YEAR IN

MILESTONES FROM THE WORLD OF SELF-DRIVING AND ELECTRIC CARS

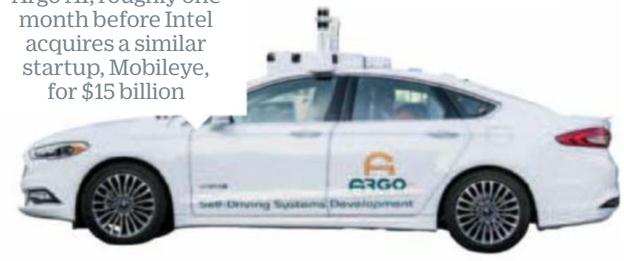
BY JUSTIN WORLAND

**JAN. 11**

Las Vegas launches a self-driving-shuttle pilot program on a section off its famous Strip, part of an effort to convince consumers that self-driving vehicles are safe

**FEB. 10**

Ford invests $1 billion in self-driving software startup Argo AI, roughly one month before Intel acquires a similar startup, Mobileye, for $15 billion




**MARCH 10**

California reverses a rule that required human backup drivers in autonomous vehicles, a landmark change in the country's largest auto market

**APRIL 10**

Tesla valuation nears $51 billion on news of its first mass-market electric car (the $35,000+ Model 3), temporarily surpassing GM as America's most valuable automaker

**MAY 22**

Mercedes-Benz maker Daimler announces plans to build a $600 million battery factory in an effort to meet growing demand for electric vehicles

**JULY 6**

France says it will ban the sale of gas and diesel vehicles by 2040 to accelerate a transition to electric cars; the U.K., China and Germany follow with similar announcements

**AUG. 29**

Ford partners with Domino's Pizza to test a self-driving delivery service

**SEPT. 6**

The U.S. House of Representatives approves the first federal legal framework for self-driving cars, smoothing the path to mass adoption

**NOV. 7**

Google's Waymo launches the first self-driving car on public roads in Arizona without a human backup driver

**NOV. 16**

VW announces it will invest $12 billion to build electric vehicles in China, where they are rapidly gaining traction

**NOV. 16**

Tesla unveils an electric semitruck capable of carrying large loads over long distances; a future iteration could replace truck drivers

**NOV. 20**

Uber agrees to buy up to 24,000 autonomous cars from Volvo beginning in 2019, which could turn the app into the world's largest self-driving fleet operator

JAN. 11: JASON OGULNIK—THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY IMAGES; FEB. 10, AUG. 29: FORD (2); APRIL 10, NOV. 16: TESLA (2); NOV. 7: WAYMO

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# MAKE-BELIEVE

2017 THE YEAR IN

THE MOST INFLUENTIAL FICTIONAL CHARACTERS

BY DANIEL D'ADDARIO

**1. WONDER WOMAN** **Gal Gadot's character—part savage warrior, part idealistic naïf—packed riveting contradictions and plenty of charisma into her first full-length screen outing (and *Justice League* too). She also powered *Wonder Woman* to more than $800 million globally, proving just how many people had been waiting for a superhero like her.**

**2. PENNYWISE** The shape-shifting clown made his onscreen debut over 25 years ago. But Bill Skarsgard added even more menace to Stephen King's creation, revealing new layers of fangs and a more-monstrous-than-ever appetite. *It* is now the highest-grossing R-rated film ever, with excitement building for the planned 2019 sequel—bad news for clowns, who reported losing work thanks to Pennywise 2.0.

**3. OFFRED** In 1985, when Margaret Atwood's first published *The Handmaid's Tale,* her protagonist's reality—watching her free society turn into a repressive and sexist theocracy—may have seemed farfetched. But in Trump's America, the character, brought to life on Hulu by Emmy winner Elisabeth Moss, has become a symbol of the real-life resistance. Earlier this year dozens of women donned her handmaid costume to protest a GOP-backed health care bill.

**4. VISERION** Dragons have long been a part of the *Game of Thrones* mythology, but never before has one managed to outshine the most beloved ensemble cast on TV: when Viserion was killed and resurrected by the Night King as a force for evil, it upended the show's game board in a way that no human character ever has, portending a thrilling final season.

**5. DINA** **Tiffany Haddish's go-for-broke performance as the raunchiest member of a quartet of friends didn't just help *Girls Trip* gross more than $100 million. It also established Haddish as one of the Hollywood's biggest rising stars.**

**6. KONO KALAKAUA AND CHIN HO KELLY** For seven seasons this police officer (played by Grace Park) and lieutenant (played by Daniel Dae Kim) were two of the most visible Asian-American characters on TV. So when news broke that they were going to be written off *Hawaii Five-0*—Park and Kim quit the CBS drama after reportedly being offered less pay than their white counterparts—it kick-started a national debate and further exposed the hollowness of Hollywood's stated commitment to diversity.

**7. JULIA** At a time when there are a growing number of characters with autism on TV (see: *The Good Doctor, The A Word, Atypical*), Julia is especially well-positioned to educate kids. When she first meets the *Sesame Street* gang, the Muppet is more focused on her painting than Elmo is, and she doesn't want to give Big Bird a high five. But they quickly learn how to include her in playtime—a new friend who's different but special all the same.

**8. SEAN SPICER** **Melissa McCarthy's relentlessly imaginative and athletic take on the former White House press secretary was arguably this year's sharpest political satire—so much so that it reportedly led President Trump to sour on his most visible mouthpiece, leading to Spicer's departure.**

**9. HANNAH BAKER** As played by Katherine Langford, Baker is the kind of protagonist any kid could relate to: popular in some ways, outcast in others. But *13 Reasons Why* isn't just a teen soap; it's the story of Baker's suicide, narrated by Baker herself, prompting schools to warn parents, and parents to accuse Netflix of glamorizing suicide. Still, it was a hit among teens and the year's most tweeted-about show.

**10. RANDALL PEARSON** Pearson's experience being adopted by a family outside his own race—and how that continues to shape him as an adult—made for the most meaningful and compelling component of broadcast TV's breakout hit *This Is Us.* Emmy voters agreed, dubbing Sterling K. Brown's performance the best by an actor in a drama series.

WONDER WOMAN, PENNYWISE: WARNER BROS.; OFFRED: HULU; VISERION: HBO; DINA: UNIVERSAL/KOBAL/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK; HAWAII FIVE-0, JULIA, SEAN SPICER, RANDALL PEARSON: GETTY IMAGES; HANNAH BAKER: NETFLIX

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MEDECINS SANS FRONTIERES
DOCTORS WITHOUT BORDERS

# THINGS

INANIMATE OBJECTS THAT DROVE THE NEWS

BY MEGAN MCCLUSKEY

**HEADWEAR**

Women's March pink pussy hats

**HARDWARE**

Apple's upgraded iPhone X

**FILTER**

Snapchat's dancing hot dog

**INSTA-TREAT**

Starbucks' Unicorn Frappuccino

**TOKEN**

Monopoly's discontinued thimble

**ACCESSORY**

Solar-eclipse sunglasses

**DISPOSABLE**

Trump's tossed paper towels

**CONDIMENT**

McDonald's coveted Szechuan sauce

**OUTFIT**

Rihanna's Comme des Garçons dress at the Met Gala

**PORTRAIT**

Beyoncé's pregnancy announcement

**STATIONERY**

The Oscars' botched Best Picture envelope

**APPAREL**

Tom Brady's stolen Super Bowl jersey

**CROCKERY**

*Get Out*'s hypnotizing teacup

**SNACK**

Halo Top's low-calorie ice cream

HAT, PHONE, THIMBLE, PAPER TOWELS, GLASSES, RIHANNA, BRADY, OSCARS: GETTY IMAGES; HOT DOG: SNAPCHAT; STARBUCKS: MOHAMMAD KHURSHEED—REUTERS; SAUCE: MCDONALD'S; BEYONCÉ: INSTAGRAM; TEACUP: UNIVERSAL PICTURES; ICE CREAM: HALO TOP

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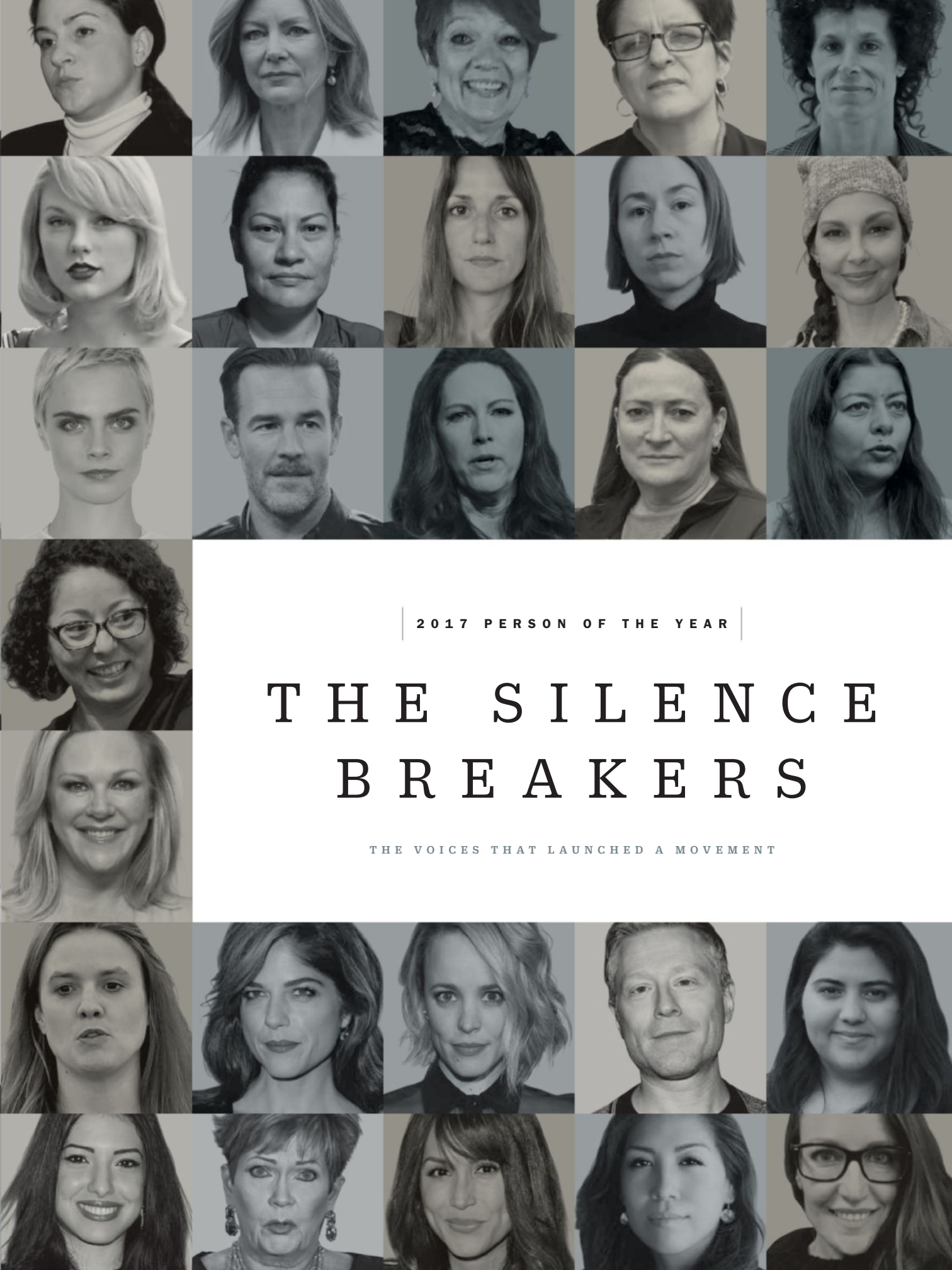
8 TO 22-DAY ITINERARIES

THESE ARE 61 OF THE PEOPLE WHO SPOKE OUT ABOUT HARASSMENT IN 2017



2017 PERSON OF THE YEAR

# THE SILENCE BREAKERS

THE VOICES THAT LAUNCHED A MOVEMENT

**PREVIOUS SPREAD, FROM LEFT TO RIGHT:**

JAN. 17
**Summer Zervos,** former *Apprentice* contestant

FEB. 19
**Susan Fowler,** former Uber engineer

MARCH 5
**Marisa Woytek,** Marine

MARCH 8
**Erika Butner,** former Marine

APRIL 1
**Andrea Mackris,** former Fox News producer

APRIL 1
**Wendy Walsh,** former Fox News contributor

APRIL 17
**Toni Malacki,** hostess

APRIL 18
**Esthela,** hotel housekeeper

JUNE 6
**Andrea Constand,** former Temple University employee

JUNE 27
**Katrina Lake,** entrepreneur

JUNE 30
**Lindsay Meyer,** entrepreneur

JUNE 30
**Susan Wu,** entrepreneur

JULY 3
**Cheryl Yeoh,** entrepreneur

AUG. 8
**Crystal Washington,** Plaza Hotel worker

AUG. 10
**Taylor Swift,** singer-songwriter

AUG. 29
**Sandra Pezqueda,** former dishwasher

SEPT. 8
**Jessica Cantlon,** university professor

SEPT. 8
**Celeste Kidd,** university professor

OCT. 5
**Ashley Judd,** actor

OCT. 5
**Rose McGowan,** artist and activist

OCT. 10
**Asia Argento,** actor

OCT. 10
**Terry Crews,** actor

OCT. 10
**Angelina Jolie,** actor and activist

OCT. 10
**Gwyneth Paltrow,** actor

OCT. 11
**Cara Delevingne,** model and actor

OCT. 12
**James Van Der Beek,** actor

OCT. 13
**Isa Hackett,** producer

OCT. 13
**Kelly Martin,** National Park Service employee

OCT. 13
**Sandra Muller,** journalist

OCT. 15
**Alyssa Milano,** actor

# THE CHOICE

BY EDWARD FELSENTHAL

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

IT BECAME A HASHTAG, A MOVEMENT, A RECKONING. BUT it began, as great social change nearly always does, with individual acts of courage. The actor who went public with the story of movie mogul Harvey Weinstein's "coercive bargaining" in a Beverly Hills hotel suite two decades earlier. The strawberry picker who heard that story and decided to tell her own. The young engineer whose blog post about the frat-boy culture at Silicon Valley's highest-flying startup prompted the firing of its founder and 20 other employees. The California lobbyist whose letter campaign spurred more than 140 women in politics to demand that state government "no longer tolerate the perpetrators or enablers" of sexual misconduct. A music superstar's raw, defiant court testimony about the disc jockey who groped her.

## IT BEGAN WITH INDIVIDUAL ACTS OF COURA

The galvanizing actions of the women on our cover—Ashley Judd, Susan Fowler, Adama Iwu, Taylor Swift and Isabel Pascual—along with those of hundreds of others, and of many men as well, have unleashed one of the highest-velocity shifts in our culture since the 1960s. Social media acted as a powerful accelerant; the hashtag #MeToo has now been used millions of times in at least 85 countries. "I woke up and there were 32,000 replies in 24 hours," says actor Alyssa Milano, who, after the first Weinstein story broke, helped popularize the phrase coined years before by Tarana Burke. "And I thought, My God, what just happened? I think it's opening the floodgates." To imagine Rosa Parks with a Twitter account is to wonder how much faster civil rights might have progressed.

**THE YEAR,** at its outset, did not seem to be a particularly auspicious one for women. A man who had bragged on tape about sexual assault took the oath of the highest office in the land, having defeated the first woman of either party to be nominated for that office, as she sat beside a former President with his own troubling history of sexual misconduct. While polls from the 2016 campaign revealed the predictable divisions in American society, large majorities—including women who supported Donald Trump—said Trump had little respect for women. "I remember feeling powerless," says Fowler, the former Uber engineer who called out the company's toxic culture, "like even the government wasn't looking out for us."

Nor did 2017 appear to be especially promising for journalists, who—alongside the ongoing financial upheaval in the media business—feared a fallout from the President's cries of "fake news" and verbal attacks on reporters. And yet it was a year of phenomenal reporting. Determined journalists—including Emily Steel and Michael Schmidt, Jodi Kantor and Megan Twohey, Ronan Farrow, Brett Anderson, Oliver Darcy, and Irin Carmon and Amy Brittain, among many others—picked up where so many human-resources departments, government committees and district attorneys had clearly failed, proving the truth of rumors that had circulated across whisper networks for years.

We are in the middle of the beginning of this upheaval. There is so much that we still don't know about its ultimate impact. How far-reaching will it be? How deep into the country? How far down the organizational chart? Will there be a backlash? Hollywood and the media—the industries that have thus far been home to most of the prominent cases—live in a coastal, co-dependent bubble. That it popped first isn't terribly surprising and surely doesn't mean that the behavior of a Louis CK or a Charlie Rose is any less prevalent in the suites of corporate America. Or the trading floors of Wall Street. Or the backrooms of restaurants, factories and small businesses across the country. Indeed, the biggest test of this movement will be the extent to which it changes the realities of people for whom telling the truth simply threatens too much.

GE

The roots of TIME's annual franchise—singling out the person or persons who most influenced the events of the year—lie in the so-called great man theory of history, a phrasing that sounds particularly anachronistic at this moment. But the idea that influential, inspirational individuals shape the world could not be more apt this year. "I want to show [my 11-year-old daughter] that it's O.K. to stand up for yourself, even though you feel like the world is against you," says Dana Lewis, a hotel hospitality coordinator who is suing her employer over the actions of a serial groper. "If you keep fighting, eventually you'll see the sun on the other side." Or as artist and activist Rose McGowan put it, "Why not fight back? What else are we doing?"

For giving voice to open secrets, for moving whisper networks onto social networks, for pushing us all to stop accepting the unacceptable, the Silence Breakers are the 2017 Person of the Year.

OCT. 16
**June Brisbane,** domestic worker

OCT. 16
**Tarana Burke,** activist

OCT. 16
**Liz Chernett,** stylist and art director

OCT. 16
**Blaise Godbe Lipman,** director

OCT. 17
**Cristina Garcia,** state assemblywoman

OCT. 17
**Adama Iwu,** lobbyist

OCT. 19
**Juana Melara,** hotel housekeeper

OCT. 19
**Lupita Nyong'o,** actor

OCT. 20
**Sarah McBride,** activist

OCT. 21
**Lindsey Reynolds,** food-blog editor

OCT. 21
**Lis Wiehl,** former Fox News analyst

OCT. 23
**Richa Chadha,** actor

OCT. 23
**Sara Gelser,** state senator

OCT. 23
**Megyn Kelly,** journalist

OCT. 23
**Zelda Perkins,** producer

OCT. 25
**Abbie Hodgson,** former state legislative staffer

OCT. 25
**Terry Reintke,** member of the European Parliament

OCT. 26
**Selma Blair,** actor

OCT. 26
**Rachel McAdams,** actor

OCT. 29
**Anthony Rapp,** actor

OCT. 30
**Nerexda Soto,** barista

OCT. 31
**Bex Bailey,** charity worker

NOV. 1
**Jane Merrick,** journalist

NOV. 9
**Rebecca Corry,** comedian

NOV. 9
**Dana Min Goodman,** comedian

NOV. 9
**Julia Wolov,** comedian

NOV. 12
**Clarissa Marchese,** model

NOV. 13
**Beverly Young Nelson,** business owner

NOV. 16
**Leeann Tweeden,** radio broadcaster

NOV. 29
**Paulette Jordan,** state legislator

DEC. 1
**Leah D'Avola,** account manager

FOR CREDITS, SEE PAGE 128

BY STEPHANIE ZACHAREK, ELIANA DOCKTERMAN AND HALEY SWEETLAND EDWARDS



Judd says she was sexually harassed by Harvey Weinstein when she was 29 years old.

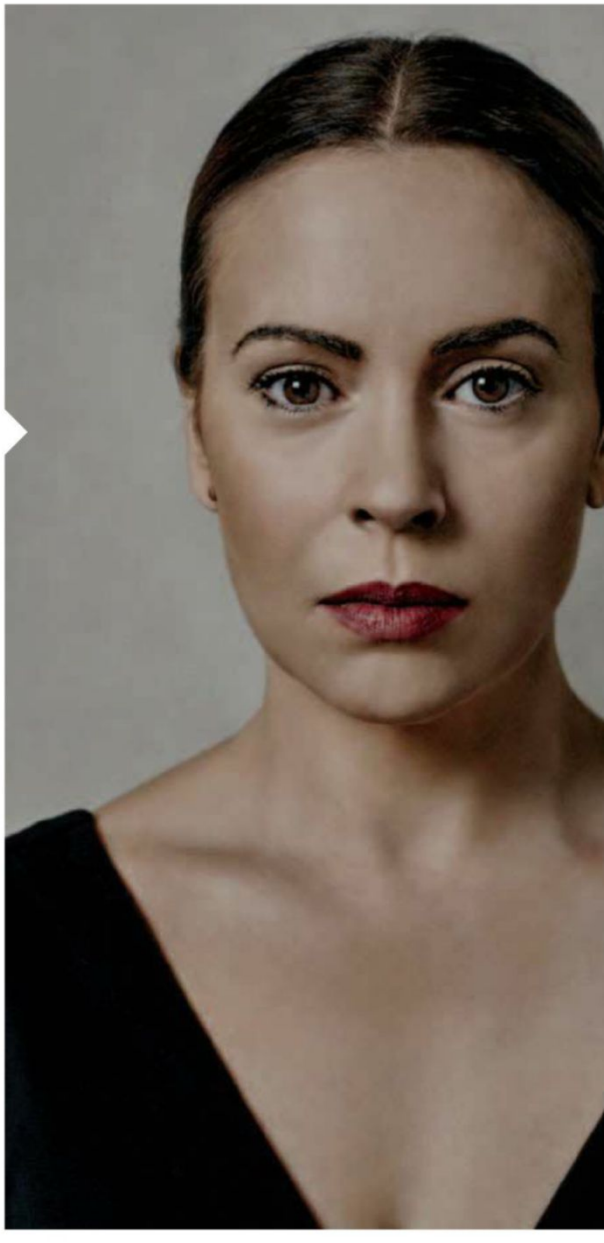
"We need to formalize the whisper network. It's an ingenious way that we've tried to keep ourselves safe. All those voices can be amplified. That's my advice to women. That and if something feels wrong, it is wrong—and it's wrong by my definition and not necessarily someone else's."

*Weinstein said in a statement he "never laid a glove" on Judd.*

MOVIE STARS ARE SUPPOSEDLY NOTHING LIKE you and me. They're svelte, glamorous, self-possessed. They wear dresses we can't afford and live in houses we can only dream of. Yet it turns out that—in the most painful and personal ways—movie stars are more like you and me than we ever knew.

In 1997, just before Ashley Judd's career took off, she was invited to a meeting with Harvey Weinstein, head of the starmaking studio Miramax, at a Beverly Hills hotel. Astounded and offended by Weinstein's attempt to coerce her into bed, Judd managed to escape. But instead of keeping quiet about the kind of encounter that could easily shame a woman into silence, she began spreading the word.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY BILLY & HELLS FOR TIME



ALYSSA MILANO | 44 | ACTOR

Millions of people responded with the hashtag #MeToo when Milano urged them to post their experiences on Twitter.

"It's affected me on a cellular level to hear all these stories. I don't know if I'll ever be the same. I have not stopped crying. I look at my daughter and think, Please, let this be worth it. Please, let it be that my daughter never has to go through anything like this."

"I started talking about Harvey the minute that it happened," Judd says in an interview with TIME. "Literally, I exited that hotel room at the Peninsula Hotel in 1997 and came straight downstairs to the lobby, where my dad was waiting for me, because he happened to be in Los Angeles from Kentucky, visiting me on the set. And he could tell by my face—to use his words—that something devastating had happened to me. I told him. I told everyone."

She recalls one screenwriter friend telling her that Weinstein's behavior was an open secret passed around on the whisper network that had been furrowing through Hollywood for years. It allowed for people to warn others to some degree, but there was no route to stop the abuse. "Were we supposed to call some fantasy attorney general of moviedom?" Judd asks. "There wasn't a place for us to report these experiences."

Finally, in October—when Judd went on the record about Weinstein's behavior in the New York *Times,* the first star to do so—the world listened. (Weinstein said he "never laid a glove" on Judd and denies having had nonconsensual sex with other accusers.)

When movie stars don't know where to go, what hope is there for the rest of us? What hope is there for the janitor who's being harassed by a co-worker but remains silent out of fear she'll lose the job she needs to support her children? For the administrative assistant who repeatedly fends off a superior who won't take no for an answer? For the hotel housekeeper who never knows, as she goes about replacing towels and cleaning toilets, if a guest is going to corner her in a room she can't escape?

Like the "problem that has no name," the disquieting malaise of frustration and repression among postwar wives and homemakers identified by Betty Friedan more than 50 years ago, this moment is borne of a very real and potent sense of unrest. Yet it doesn't have a leader, or a single, unifying tenet. The hashtag #MeToo (swiftly adapted into #BalanceTonPorc, #YoTambien, #Ana_kaman and many others), which to date has provided an umbrella of solidarity for millions of people to come forward with their stories, is part of the picture, but not all of it.

This reckoning appears to have sprung up overnight. But it has actually been simmering for years, decades, centuries. Women have had it with bosses and coworkers who not only cross boundaries but don't even seem to know that boundaries exist. They've had it with the fear of retaliation, of being blackballed, of being fired from a job they can't afford to lose. They've had it with the code of going along to get along. They've had it with men who use their power to take what they want from women. These silence breakers have started a revolution of refusal, gathering strength by the day, and in the past two months alone, their collective anger has spurred immediate

TARANA BURKE | 44 | ACTIVIST

Burke, founder of a nonprofit that helps survivors of sexual violence, created the Me Too movement in 2006 to encourage young women to show solidarity with one another. It went viral this year after actor Alyssa Milano used the hashtag #MeToo.

"Sexual harassment does bring shame. And I think it's really powerful that this transfer is happening, that these women are able not just to share their shame but to put the shame where it belongs: on the perpetrator."

and shocking results: nearly every day, CEOs have been fired, moguls toppled, icons disgraced. In some cases, criminal charges have been brought.

Emboldened by Judd, Rose McGowan and other prominent accusers, women everywhere have begun to speak out about the inappropriate, abusive and in some cases illegal behavior they've faced. When multiple harassment claims bring down a charmer like former *Today* show host Matt Lauer, women who thought they had no recourse see a new, wide-open door. When a movie star says #MeToo, it becomes easier to believe the cook who's been quietly enduring for years.

The women and men who have broken their silence span all races, all income classes, all occupations and virtually all corners of the globe. They might labor in California fields, or behind the front desk at New York City's regal Plaza Hotel, or in the European Parliament. They're part of a movement that has no formal name. But now they have a voice.

## II

IN A WINDOWLESS ROOM AT A TWO-story soundstage in San Francisco's Mission District, a group of women

from different worlds met for the first time. Judd, every bit the movie star in towering heels, leaned in to shake hands with Isabel Pascual, a woman from Mexico who works picking strawberries and asked to use a pseudonym to protect her family. Beside her, Susan Fowler, a former Uber engineer, eight months pregnant, spoke softly with Adama Iwu, a corporate lobbyist in Sacramento. A young hospital worker who had flown in from Texas completed the circle. She too is a victim of sexual harassment but was there anonymously, she said, as an act of solidarity to represent all those who could not speak out.

From a distance, these women could not have looked more different. Their ages, their families, their religions and their ethnicities were all a world apart. Their incomes differed not by degree but by universe: Iwu pays more in rent each month than Pascual makes in two months.

But on that November morning, what separated them was less important than what brought them together: a shared experience. Over the course of six weeks, TIME interviewed dozens of people representing at least as many industries, all of whom had summoned extraordinary personal courage to speak out about sexual harassment at their jobs. They often had eerily similar stories to share.

In almost every case, they described not only the vulgarity of the harassment itself—years of lewd comments, forced kisses, opportunistic gropes—but also the emotional and psychological fallout from those advances. Almost everybody described wrestling with a palpable sense of shame. Had she somehow asked for it? Could she have deflected it? Was she making a big deal out of nothing?

"I thought, What just happened? Why didn't I react?" says the anonymous hospital worker who fears for her family's livelihood should her story come out in her small community. "I kept thinking, Did I do something, did I say something, did I look a certain way to make him think that was O.K.?" It's a poisonous, useless thought, she adds, but how do you avoid it? She remembers the shirt she was wearing that day. She can still feel the heat of her harasser's hands on her body.

Nearly all of the people TIME interviewed about their experiences expressed a crushing fear of what would happen to them personally, to their families or to their jobs if they spoke up.

For some, the fear was borne of a threat of physical violence. Pascual felt trapped and terrified when her harasser began to stalk her at home, but felt she was powerless to stop him. If she told anyone, the abuser warned her, he would come after her or her children.

Those who are often most vulnerable in society—immigrants, people of color, people with disabilities, low-income

'HE SAID IF I EVER WRONGED HIM, HE WOULD HAVE ME KIDNAPPED, HAVE MY EYES GOUGED OUT WITH A BIC PEN AND THROW ME INTO THE HUDSON RIVER.'

—SELMA BLAIR

SELMA BLAIR | 45 | ACTOR

After director James Toback denied accusations by dozens of women that he had sexually assaulted them, Blair spoke out about her encounter with him.

"I decided to go on the record when I saw his denial. He called the women liars. But their stories were so similar to mine, and they were such credible women. There was no agenda other than they wanted to share this story, be free of this story. And in a magazine interview, he called the people who said this about him 'c-nts' and 'c-cksuckers.' That was just wrong. And I wanted to give a face to these now more than 300 women who have come out."

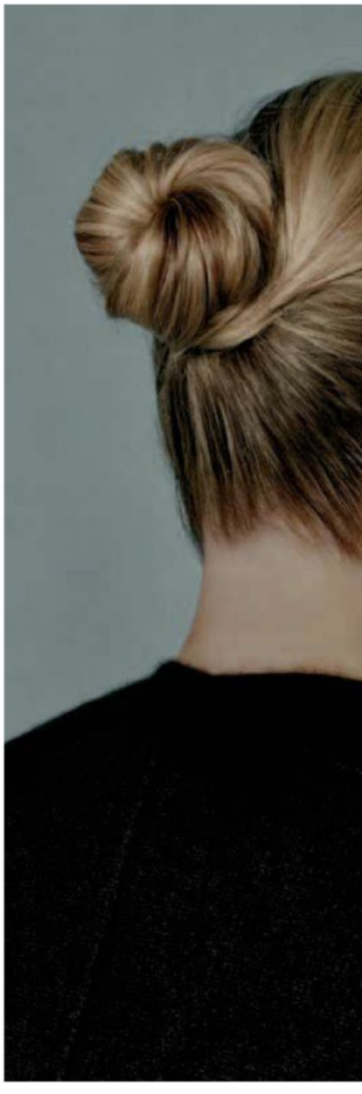
*Toback has denied all allegations of harassment.*

PLAZA HOTEL PLAINTIFFS

From left: Veronica Owusu, Gabrielle Eubank, Crystal Washington, Dana Lewis, Paige Rodriguez, Sergeline Bernadeau and Kristina Antonova filed a suit against New York City's Plaza Hotel for "normalizing and trivializing sexual assault" among employees there.

"I am a single mother. I have an 11-year-old daughter, and she's depending on me," says Lewis, who still works at the hotel to make ends meet. "My entire life revolves around her. I wasn't really left with the option of leaving. I'm not left with the option of giving up. I want to show her that it's O.K. to stand up for yourself. If you keep fighting, eventually you'll see the sun on the other side."

*Fairmont Hotels & Resorts, which owns the Plaza, said it takes remedial action against harassment when warranted.*



SARA GELSER | 43 | STATE SENATOR

After the Oregon state senator accused her fellow legislator Jeff Kruse of sexual harassment, the statehouse launched an investigation and stripped him of his committee assignments.

"We can't pick and choose based on whose political beliefs we believe in. And that means we have to be willing to speak out when it's a member of our own party."

*Kruse said in a statement that he never touched Gelser inappropriately.*

workers and LGBTQ people—described many types of dread. If they raised their voices, would they be fired? Would their communities turn against them? Would they be killed? According to a 2015 survey by the National Center for Transgender Equality, 47% of transgender people report being sexually assaulted at some point in their lives, both in and out of the workplace.

Juana Melara, who has worked as a hotel housekeeper for decades, says she and her fellow housekeepers didn't complain about guests who exposed themselves or masturbated in front of them for fear of losing the paycheck they needed to support their families. Melara recalls "feeling the pressure of someone's eyes" on her as she cleaned a guest's room. When she turned around, she remembers, a man was standing in the doorway, blocked by the cleaning cart, with his erect penis exposed. She yelled at the top of her lungs and scared him into leaving, then locked the door behind him. "Nothing happened to me that time, thank God," she recalls.

While guests come and go, some

ANONYMOUS | 28 | HOSPITAL WORKER

The mother of two told the HR department at the hospital where she worked that an executive there repeatedly came on to her.

"I thought, What just happened? Why didn't I react? Why couldn't I force words out of my mouth? When I got home, I crumbled. I kept thinking, Did I do something, did I say something, did I look a certain way to make him think that was O.K.?"

LINDSAY MEYER | 31 | ENTREPRENEUR

Meyer says that Justin Caldbeck, a venture capitalist who invested in her first company, harassed her. After six other women reported harassment by Caldbeck, he resigned from his firm.

"I wanted it to stop. I wanted to be able to get back to running my company and not have the daily distraction of being constantly emailed, called, text-messaged. That took a lot of energy to deal with and to process and to try to bury—because I didn't want it to be a big deal. For so long, I went around harboring this ridiculous belief that because I was a nonwhite woman in my 20s that somehow it was expected that I would have to be treated this way. And now I see that that is so silly. I am a person with dignity."

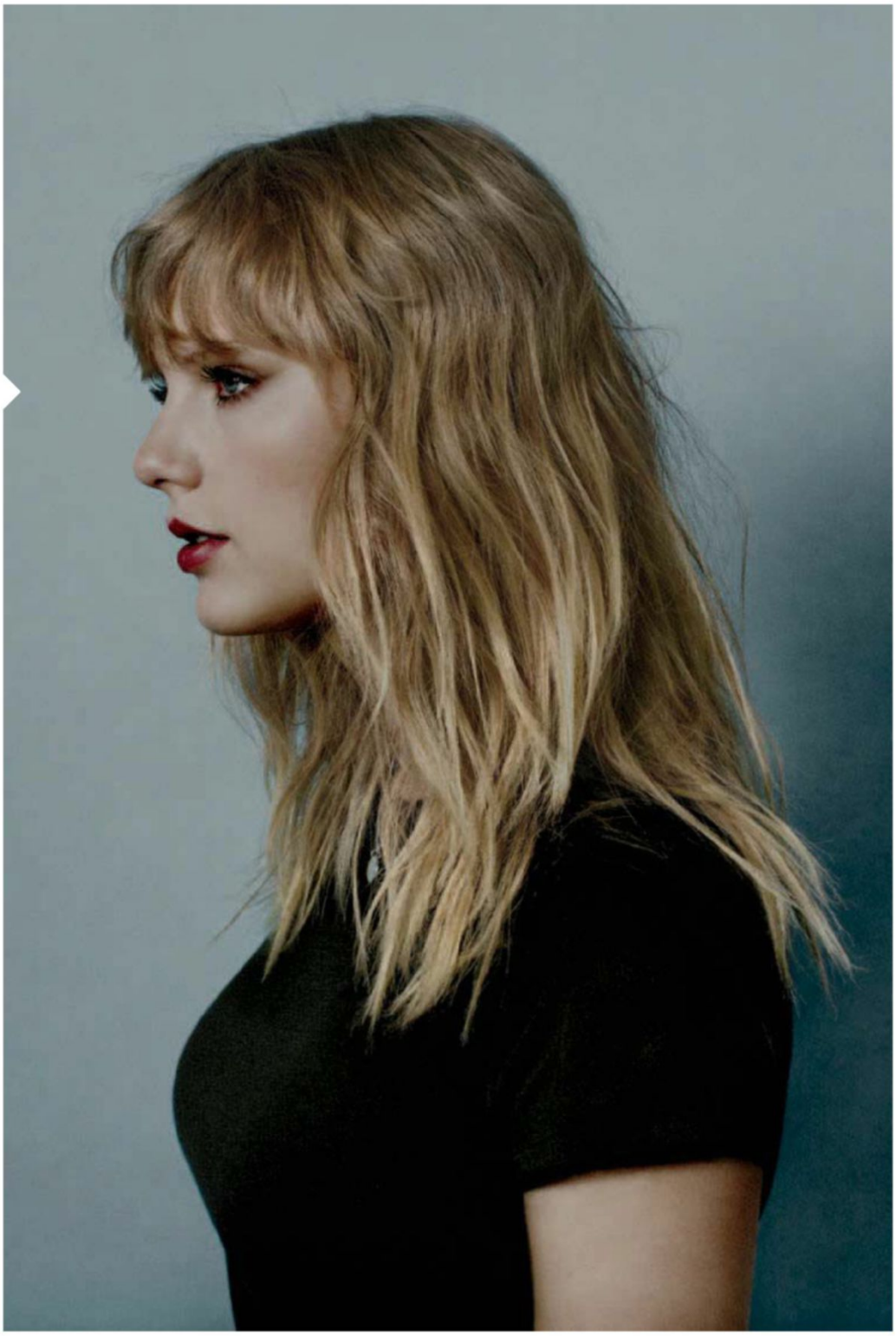
*Caldbeck apologized in a statement to the women he "made uncomfortable."*

employees must continue to work side by side with their harassers. Crystal Washington was thrilled when she was hired as a hospitality coordinator at the Plaza, a storied hotel whose allure is as strong for people who want to work there as it is for those who can afford a suite. "Walking in, it's breathtaking," she says.

But then, she says, a co-worker began making crude remarks to her like "I can tell you had sex last night" and groping her. One of those encounters was even caught on camera, but the management did not properly respond, her lawyers say.

Washington has joined with six other female employees to file a sexual-harassment suit against the hotel. But she cannot afford to leave the job and says she must force herself out of bed every day to face the man she's accused. "It's a dream to be an employee there," Washington says. "And then you find out what it really is, and it's a nightmare." (Fairmont Hotels & Resorts, which owns the Plaza, said in a statement to TIME that it takes remedial action against harassment when warranted.)

Other women, like the actor Selma



Radio DJ David Mueller groped Swift during a photo op in 2013. She reported him to his radio station, KYGO, and he was terminated. He said her accusations were false and sued Swift. She countersued for $1 and won.

"When I testified, I had already had to watch this man's attorney bully, badger and harass my team, including my mother ... I was angry. In that moment, I decided to forgo any courtroom formalities and just answer the questions the way it happened. This man hadn't considered any formalities when he assaulted me ... Why should I be polite? I'm told it was the most amount of times the word *ass* has ever been said in Colorado federal court."

*Mueller's lawyer did not respond to multiple requests for comment.*

SANDRA PEZQUEDA | 37 | FORMER DISHWASHER

Pezqueda filed a suit alleging that her supervisor at the Terranea Resort, a luxury retreat in Southern California, pursued her for months. When she rebuffed him, he changed her schedule and cut her hours.

"Someone who is in the limelight is able to speak out more easily than people who are poor. The reality of being a woman is the same—the difference is the risk each woman must take."

*Attorneys for the staffing company that employed Pezqueda deny her allegations. Terranea Resort declined to comment except to say that the suit involves an outside agency.*

Blair, weathered excruciating threats. Blair says she arrived at a hotel restaurant for a meeting with the independent film director James Toback in 1999 only to be told that he would like to see her in his room. There, she says, Toback told her that she had to learn to be more vulnerable in her craft and asked her to strip down. She took her top off. She says he then propositioned her for sex, and when she refused, he blocked the door and forced her to watch him masturbate against her leg. Afterward, she recalls him telling her that if she said anything, he would stab her eyes out with a Bic pen and throw her in the Hudson River.

Blair says Toback lorded the encounter over her for decades. "I had heard from others that he was slandering me, saying these sexual things about me, and it just made me even more afraid of him," Blair says in an interview with TIME. "I genuinely thought for almost 20 years, He's going to kill me." (Toback has denied the allegations, saying he never met his accusers or doesn't remember them.)

Many of the people who have come forward also mentioned a different fear, one less visceral but no less real, as a reason for not speaking out: if you do, your complaint becomes your identity. "'Susan Fowler, the famous victim of sexual harassment,'" says the woman whose blog post ultimately led Uber CEO Travis Kalanick to resign and the multibillion-dollar startup to oust at least 20 other employees. "Nobody wants to be the buzzkill," adds Lindsey Reynolds, one of the women who blew the whistle on a culture of harassment at the restaurant group run by the celebrity chef John Besh. (The Besh Group says it is implementing new policies to create a culture of respect. Besh apologized for "unacceptable behavior" and "moral failings," and resigned from the company. )

Iwu, the lobbyist, says she considered the same risks after she was groped in front of several colleagues at an event. She was shocked when none of her male coworkers stepped in to stop the assault. The next week, she organized 147 women to

'I THINK THAT WE'R JUST REALLY SICK I'M FU ABOUT AND I THINK NOW TO BE FURIOUS AN TO STAY FURIOUS.'

—ADAMA IWU

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sign an open letter exposing harassment in California government. When she told people about the campaign, she says they were wary. "Are you sure you want to do this?" they warned her. "Remember Anita Hill."

Taylor Swift says she was made to feel bad about the consequences that her harasser faced. After she complained about a Denver radio DJ named David Mueller, who reached under her skirt and grabbed her rear end, Mueller was fired. He sued Swift for millions in damages. She countersued for a symbolic $1 and then testified about the incident in August. Mueller's lawyer asked her, on the witness stand, whether she felt bad that she'd gotten him fired.

"I'm not going to let you or your client make me feel in any way that this is my fault," she told the lawyer. "I'm being blamed for the unfortunate events of his life that are a product of his decisions. Not mine." (Mueller said he would appeal.)

In an interview with TIME, Swift says that moment on the stand fueled her indignation. "I figured that if he would be brazen enough to assault me under these risky circumstances," she says, "imagine what he might do to a vulnerable, young artist if given the chance." Like the five women gathered at that echoing soundstage in San Francisco, and like all of the dozens, then hundreds, then millions of women who came forward with their own stories of harassment, she was done feeling intimidated. Actors and writers and journalists and dishwashers and fruit pickers alike: they'd had enough. What had manifested as shame exploded into outrage. Fear became fury.

This was the great unleashing that turned the #MeToo hashtag into a rallying cry. The phrase was first used more than a decade ago by social activist Tarana Burke as part of her work building solidarity among young survivors of harassment and assault. A friend of the actor Alyssa Milano sent her a screenshot of the phrase, and Milano, almost on a whim, tweeted it out on Oct. 15. "If you've been sexually harassed or assaulted write 'me too' as a reply to this tweet," she wrote, and then went to sleep. She woke up the next day to find that more than 30,000 people had used #MeToo. Milano burst into tears.

At first, those speaking out were mostly from the worlds of media and entertainment, but the hashtag quickly spread. "We have to keep our focus on people of different class and race and gender," says Burke, who has developed a friendship with Milano via text messages. By November, California farmworkers, Pascual among them, were marching on the streets of Hollywood to express their solidarity with the stars.

Women were no longer alone. "There's something really empowering about standing up for what's right," says Fowler, who has grown comfortable with her new reputation as a whistle-blower. "It's a badge of honor."

## III

DISCUSSIONS OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT in polite company tend to rely on euphemisms: harassment becomes "inappropriate behavior," assault becomes

"misconduct," rape becomes "abuse." We're accustomed to hearing those softened words, which downplay the pain of the experience. That's one of the reasons why the *Access Hollywood* tape that surfaced in October 2016 was such a jolt. The language used by the man who would become America's 45th President, captured on a 2005 recording, was, by any standard, vulgar. He didn't just say that he'd made a pass; he "moved on her like a bitch." He didn't just talk about fondling women; he bragged that he could "grab 'em by the pussy."

That Donald Trump could express himself that way and still be elected President is part of what stoked the rage that fueled the Women's March the day after his Inauguration. It's why women seized on that crude word as the emblem of the protest that dwarfed Trump's Inauguration crowd size. "All social movements have highly visible precipitating factors," says Aldon Morris, a professor of sociology at Northwestern University. "In this case, you had Harvey Weinstein, and before that you had Trump."

Megyn Kelly, the NBC anchor who revealed in October that she had complained to Fox News executives about Bill O'Reilly's treatment of women, and who was a target of Trump's ire during the campaign, says the tape as well as the tenor of the election turned the political into the personal. "I have real doubts about whether we'd be going through this if Hillary Clinton had won, because I think that President Trump's election in many ways was a setback for women," says Kelly, who noted that not all women at the march were Clinton supporters. "But the overall message to us was that we don't really matter."

So it was not entirely surprising that 2017 began with women donning "pussy hats" and marching on the nation's capital in a show of unity and fury. What was startling was the size of the protest. It was one of the largest in U.S. history and spawned satellite marches in all 50 states and more than 50 other countries.

Summer Zervos, a former contestant on *The Apprentice,* was one of roughly 20 women to accuse the President of sexual harassment. She filed a defamation suit against Trump days before his Inauguration after he disputed her claims by calling her a liar. A New York judge is expected to decide soon if the President is immune to civil suits while in office. No matter the outcome, the allegations added fuel to a growing fire.

By February, the movement had made its way to the billionaire dream factories of Silicon Valley, when Fowler spoke out about her "weird year" as an engineer at Uber. "I remember feeling powerless and like there was no one looking out for us because we had an admitted harasser in the White House," Fowler says. "I felt like

'WE'RE RUNNING OUT OF TIME. I DON'T HAVE TIME TO PLAY NICE.'

—ROSE MCGOWAN

ROSE MCGOWAN | 44 | ARTIST AND ACTIVIST

McGowan reached a settlement with producer Harvey Weinstein in 1997 after accusing him of sexually assaulting her in a hotel room. McGowan's decision to speak to the press this year helped expose Weinstein as a serial harasser.

"The number of people sharing their stories with me is so intense, especially since all of this is incredibly triggering for me as well. People forget a lot that there's a human behind this, someone who is very hurt. But that's O.K. It fuels my fire. They really f-cked with the wrong person."

*Weinstein has denied all allegations of non-consensual sex.*

WENDY WALSH | 55 | FORMER FOX NEWS CONTRIBUTOR

**After Walsh and other women accused Bill O'Reilly of sexual harassment, Fox News fired him.**

**"In the early '90s, as a news anchor, I wore buttoned-up suits, skirts to my knees, sensible shoes. I dipped out of the industry. When I came back, I was put in a sausage dress. The hair got blonder and the cleavage got deeper and the heels higher. Fox had created a sort of Snapchat filter: any woman, even a woman with advanced degrees, would be turned into what looked like an office sex toy. Part of what happened to the women at Fox News started in the makeup room."**

*O'Reilly has denied harassing colleagues.*

LINDSEY REYNOLDS | 32 | FOOD-BLOG EDITOR

When she quit her job as social-media manager at the restaurant group of celebrity chef John Besh, Reynolds sent an email to her bosses complaining about the company's culture of sexism. She later filed a complaint with the EEOC. Besh has since stepped down.

"After I sent that email, I burst into tears and felt sick to my stomach and was shaking. I was nobody. I'm just a person from a small town in Texas. I have no money, no power, no social standing. And they have more power and money than I will ever have. I felt extremely vulnerable and scared. Then I heard from women I had never met—they worked as line cooks while I worked in corporate—who had experienced the same toxic culture."

*The company said it is working to enact policies to create a culture of safety and respect. Besh has apologized for "unacceptable" behavior and "moral failings," and resigned.*

ISABEL PASCUAL* | 42 | STRAWBERRY PICKER

In the wake of the revelations about Harvey Weinstein, Pascual spoke out at a march in L.A. about being stalked and harassed in order to give voice to her fellow agricultural workers.

"I was afraid. When the man was harassing me, he threatened to harm my children and me—that's why I kept quiet. I felt desperate. I cried and cried. But, thank God, my friends in the fields support me. So I said, Enough. I lost the fear. It doesn't matter if they criticize me. I can support other people who are going through the same thing."

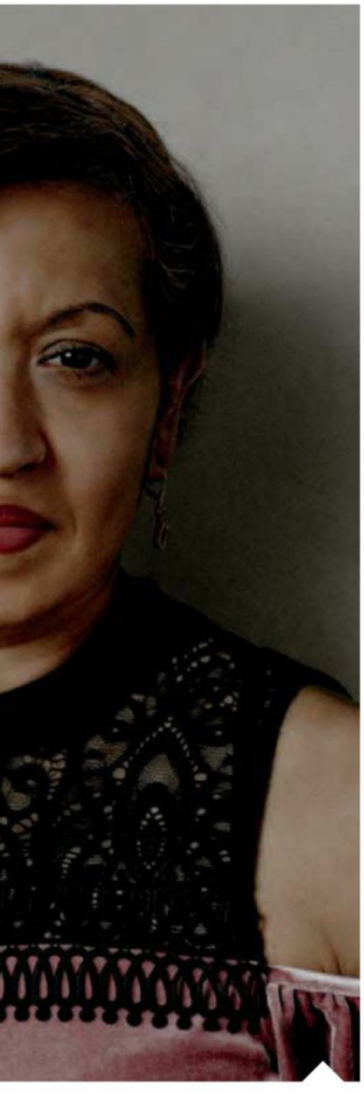
**Pascual's name was changed to protect her family.*

I had to take action."

Barely two months later, Fox News cut ties with O'Reilly. Over the next several months, media outlets reported that O'Reilly and Fox News had spent more than $45 million to settle claims with women who alleged harassment. Wendy Walsh, a psychologist and former guest on the network, was one of the first women to share her story about the star anchor—but she was initially reluctant to go on the record. "I was afraid for my kids, I was afraid of the retaliation," she says. "I know what men can do when they're angry."

Eventually she allowed her name to be used. "I felt it was my duty," Walsh says, "as a mother of daughters, as an act of love for women everywhere and the women who are silenced, to be brave."

The downfall of O'Reilly, who has denied all allegations of harassment, would prove to be just the beginning of the reckoning in media and entertainment. In June, Bill Cosby was brought to trial on charges that he had drugged and sexually assaulted a woman named Andrea Constand, one of nearly 50 women who have accused Cosby of sexual assault over



JUANA MELARA | 52 | HOUSEKEEPER

Hotel guests have propositioned and exposed themselves to Melara while she was working.

"One time when I was cleaning, a guest asked me if I knew how to massage. I said, 'No, I don't even do it to my husband.' The way he was looking at me wasn't friendly. I rushed to finish the room as fast as I could and get out of there. It's crazy that people think that if they pay for the room, they are paying for sexual service."

*The hotel declined to comment.*

SANDRA MULLER | 46 | JOURNALIST

In France, Muller started the Twitter hashtag *#BalanceTonPorc* (Expose Your Pig), which helped inspire women to march in the streets to protest sexual harassment.

"France is a country of love, but there is love and *love*, you know? There are ways to approach a woman, and if it's done with respect, it's O.K. Without respect, it's not good. Now if men want your love, they have to ask themselves how to be, how to approach a woman. They are scared. We must restart all relationships from the beginning. We have to cleanse society to find a better way. I'm sure the road will be long and difficult, but it will be positive in the end."

several decades. Although the case ended in a mistrial—it is scheduled to be retried in April—the fact that it happened at all signaled a shift in the culture, a willingness to hold even beloved and powerful men accountable for past misdeeds.

Complaints at the University of Rochester helped expose harassment in academia. The chief executive of SoFi, the $4 billion lending firm, resigned following a lawsuit over claims of sexual harassment. Then, in early October, the dam finally broke.

On Oct. 5, the New York *Times* published the first story to expose Weinstein, one of the most powerful men in Hollywood and a leading Democratic political fundraiser, as a serial sexual predator. The revelation was quickly followed by *New Yorker* investigations that widened Weinstein's list of accusers and showed the incredible lengths he went to cover his tracks. Weinstein denied the allegations, but the levers that he had long pulled to exert his influence suddenly were jammed. Fellow chieftains refused to defend him. Politicians who once courted him gave away his donations. His

company's board fired him.

Within days, the head of Amazon Studios, an influential art publisher and employees at the financial-services firm Fidelity had all left their jobs over harassment claims. By the end of the month, the list of the accused had grown to include political analyst Mark Halperin, a former TIME employee; opinion-shaping literary critic Leon Wieseltier; and numerous politicians and journalists. The Oscar-winning actor Kevin Spacey was scrubbed from a completed movie.

The response to the Weinstein allegations has shaped the way people view women who come forward. In a TIME/SurveyMonkey online poll of American adults conducted Nov. 28–30, 82% of respondents said women are more likely to speak out about harassment since the Weinstein allegations. Meanwhile, 85% say they believe the women making allegations of sexual harassment.

The movement—and fallout—quickly spread around the world. Michael Fallon, Britain's Defense Secretary, quit the Cabinet after journalist Jane Merrick revealed that he had "lunged" at her in 2003, when she was a 29-year-old reporter. In France, women took to the streets chanting not only "Me too" but also "*Balance ton porc,*" which translates roughly to "Expose your pig," a hashtag conceived by French journalist Sandra Muller. In the week after #MeToo first surfaced, versions of it swept through 85 countries, from India, where the struggle against harassment and assault had already become a national debate in recent years, to the Middle East, Asia and parts in between.

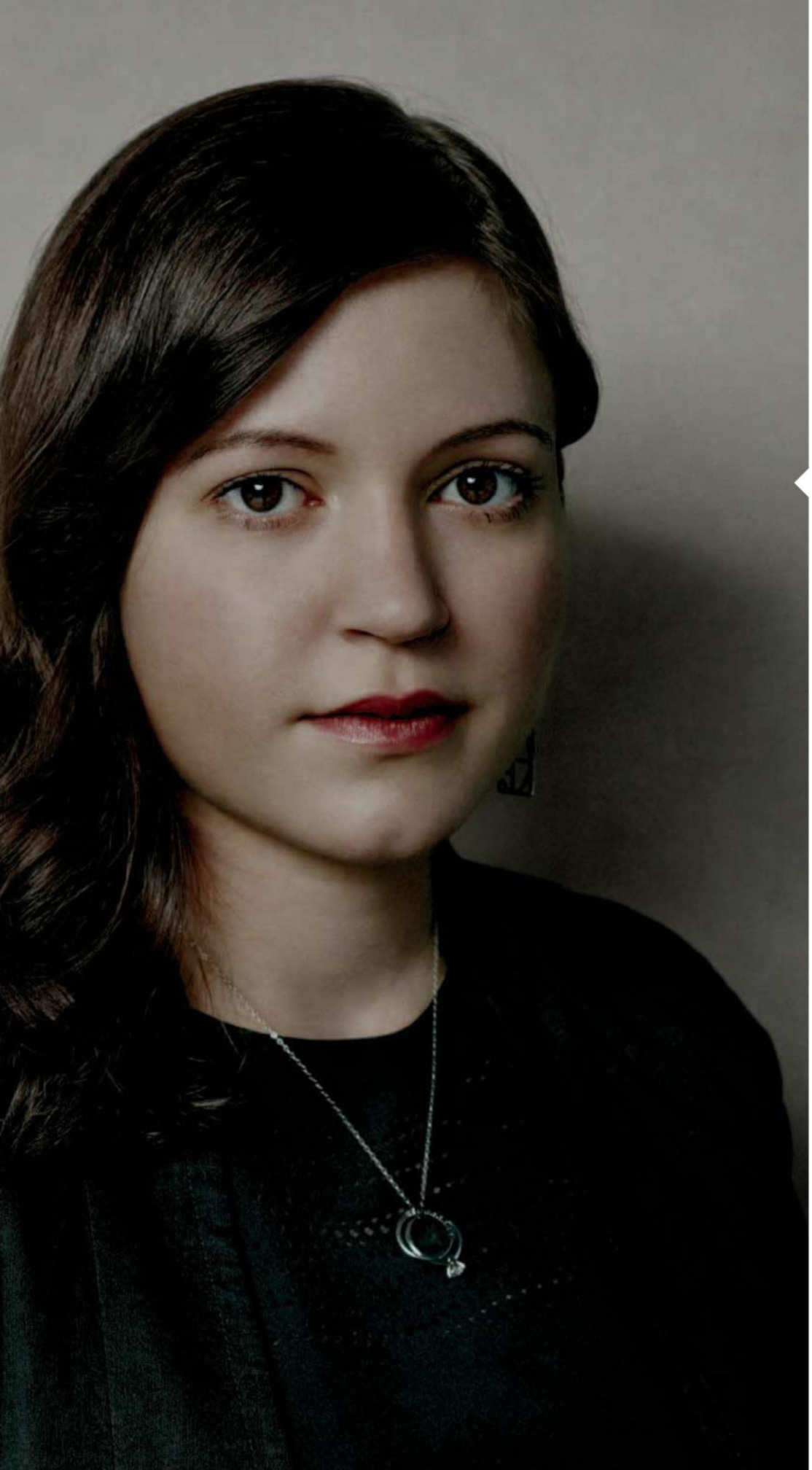
"Suddenly," says Terry Reintke, a German member of the European Parliament, who discussed her own harassment in a speech on Oct. 25, "friends from primary school or women that I know from completely different surroundings that would never call themselves feminists were starting to share their stories."

By November, the spotlight was back on American politicians. A woman named Leigh Corfman told the Washington *Post* that Roy Moore, the Alabama Republican nominee for the Senate, abused her when she was 14 and he was a 32-year-old assistant district attorney. Nine women have come forward to describe inappropriate encounters with Moore, including several who say he pursued them when they were teenagers. Moore has called the allegations "false" and "malicious." "Specifically, I do not know any of these women nor have I ever engaged in sexual misconduct with any woman," he said in late November.

The following week, radio host Leeann Tweeden wrote that Minnesota Democratic Senator Al Franken groped her on a

'WHEN TRUMP WON THE ELECTION, I FELT A CRUSHING SENSE OF POWERLESSNESS. AND THEN I REALIZED THAT I HAD TO DO SOMETHING.'

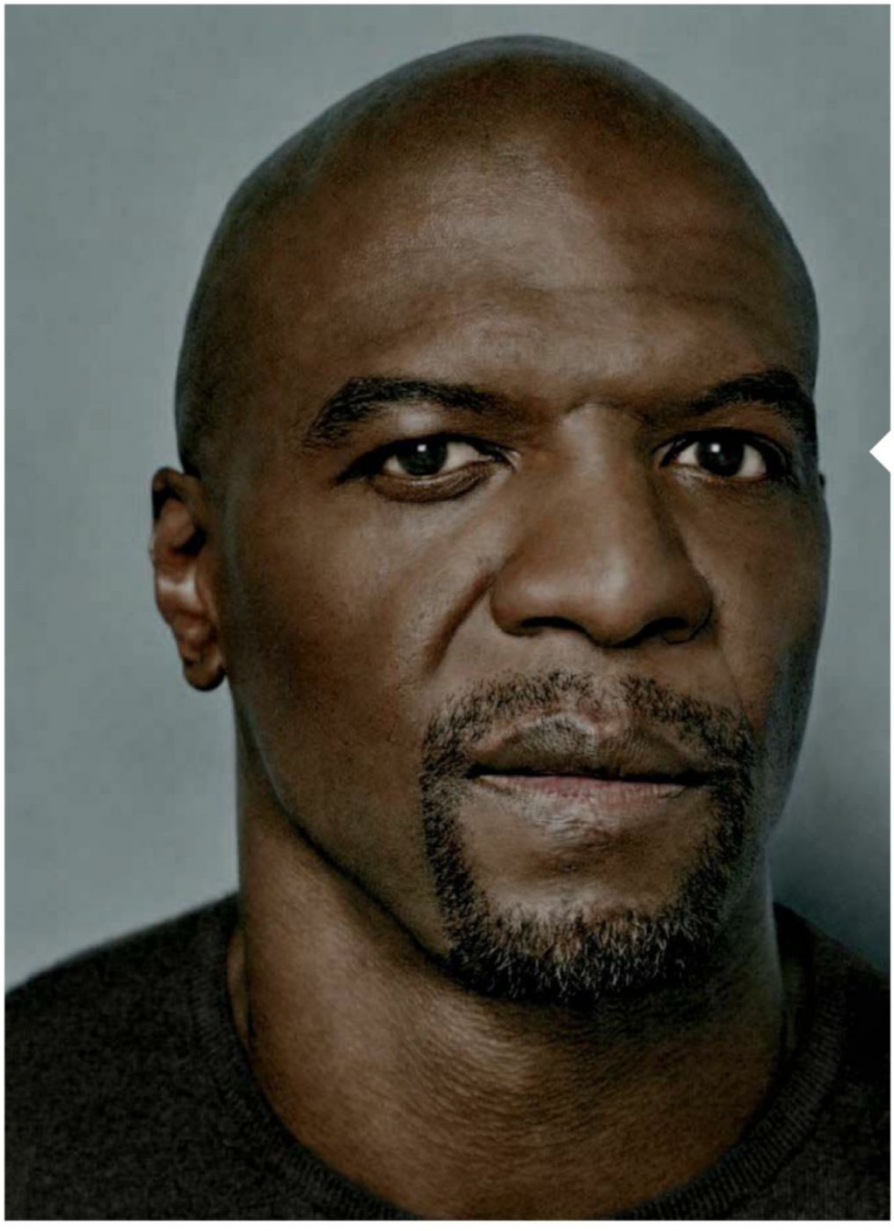
—SUSAN FOWLER



SUSAN FOWLER | 26 | FORMER UBER ENGINEER

Fowler's February blog post about the harassment she experienced as an engineer at Uber went viral. Uber then launched an investigation that led to the ousting of its CEO Travis Kalanick and more than 20 other employees.

"When other women spoke out, they were retaliated against. So there were certain things that I thought I could avoid: 'I'm not going to sue, because they'll make me sign a non-disclosure agreement. I'm not going to do press right afterward, because they'll say I'm doing it for attention. I can't have any emotion in my blog. I have to be very, very detached.' And I had to make sure that every single thing that I included in there had extensive physical documentation, so it couldn't be 'he said, she said.' And that's what I did."



TERRY CREWS | 49 | ACTOR

Crews is suing agent Adam Venit and William Morris Endeavor for sexual assault. Crews says Venit groped him in front of his wife at an industry event. Venit was briefly suspended from the agency.

"People were saying, 'You should have beaten him up.' I'm like, Why is nobody questioning him? Nobody questions the predator. You know why? Because they just expect it. And I expect it. And I just said, 'No more.' Why are you questioning the victim here? Let's flip it. Let's talk about what the predator is doing."

*The agency said it had suspended and demoted Venit, who declined to comment.*

USO tour in 2006, before he was in office. Several other women have since come forward with similar harassment allegations against Franken, who has called on the Senate Ethics Committee to investigate his own behavior. On Dec. 5, Michigan Democratic Representative John Conyers resigned amid allegations that he had made sexual advances toward the women on his staff. He has said that the allegations "are not accurate; they are not true."

Texas Republican Representative Blake Farenthold has also found himself in the crosshairs after media reports that he used $84,000 in taxpayer dollars to settle a sexual-harassment lawsuit with a former aide in 2014. Farenthold denies that he engaged in any wrongdoing and has vowed to repay the settlement.

The accused were both Democrats and Republicans, but the consequences thus far have been limited—and often filtered through a partisan lens. In politics, at least, what constitutes disqualifying behavior seemed to depend not on your actions but on the allegiance of your tribe. In the 1990s, feminists stood up for accused abuser Bill Clinton instead of his accusers—a move many are belatedly regretting as the national conversation prompts a re-evaluation of the claims against the former President. And despite the allegations against Moore, both President Trump and the Republican National Committee support him.

That political divide was revealed in

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UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS

University of Rochester professors Celeste Kidd *(right)* and Jessica Cantlon *(left)*, along with six current and former members of the brain and cognitive sciences department, filed complaints with the university and the EEOC, alleging harassment and retaliation.

"If they couldn't stop us from talking, they were going to stop everybody from listening," says Cantlon. "The administration went into our emails to try to find pieces of material that they could use to embarrass us or try to make other faculty members angry with us. But eight of us linked arms and continued to pursue the complaint. I think working together was powerful. It was hard to silence all of us."

*The university has launched an investigation led by former U.S. Attorney Mary Jo White.*

the TIME/SurveyMonkey poll, which found that Republicans were significantly more likely to excuse sexual misdeeds in their own party. The survey found that while a majority of Republicans and Democrats agree that a Democratic Congressman accused of sexual harassment should resign (71% and 74%, respectively), when the accused offender was in the GOP, only 54% of Republicans would demand a resignation (compared to 82% of Democrats).

As another election cycle approaches, Americans find themselves trying to weigh one ugly act against another in a painful calculus of transgression. Is a grope caught on camera more disqualifying than a years-ago assault that was credibly reported? What are we willing to forgive or ignore or deny if the violator shares our politics?

## IV

IT WASN'T SO LONG AGO THAT THE BOSS chasing his secretary around the desk was a comic trope, a staple from vaudeville to prime-time sitcoms. There wasn't even a name for sexual harassment until just over 40 years ago; the term was coined in 1975 by a group of women at Cornell University after an employee there, Carmita Wood, filed for unemployment benefits after she had resigned because a supervisor touched her. The university denied her claim, arguing that she left the job for "personal reasons."

Wood, joined by activists from the university's human-affairs program, formed a group called Working Women United that hosted an event for workers from various fields, from mail-room clerks and servers to factory workers and administrative assistants, to talk about their own harassment experiences.

It was a proto-version of the social-media explosion we're seeing today, encouraging unity and reminding women that they were not alone. But even as public awareness about the problem of sexual harassment began

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—JUANA MELARA

to grow, legal and policy protections were almost nonexistent. In the 1970s, most businesses and institutions had no policies on sexual harassment whatsoever, and even egregious complaints were regularly dismissed.

In 1980 the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), the federal agency tasked with enforcing civil rights laws in the workplace, issued guidelines declaring sexual harassment a violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. It was a victory, but with caveats: even after sexual harassment became explicitly illegal, it remained difficult to lodge a complaint that stuck—in part because acts of harassment are often difficult to define. What separates an illegal act of sexual harassment from a merely annoying interaction between a boss and his subordinate? When does a boss stop just being a jerk and become a criminal? Because the Civil Rights Act offered no solid legal definition, interpretation has evolved slowly, shaped by judges and the EEOC over the past 37 years.

In 1991, Anita Hill testified before the Senate committee confirming Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court, accusing him of sexual harassment and bringing national attention to the issue. But, she says, "The conversation was not about the problems in the workplace. It was about the fallout in politics."

Even now, the contours of what constitutes sexual harassment remain murky. Some of the recent stories clearly cross the line, like a boss exposing himself to a subordinate or requiring that his researcher sit on his lap. But others feel more ambiguous. Under what circumstances can you ask a colleague about their marriage? When is an invite to drinks alone a bridge too far?

Jonathan Segal, a partner at the Philadelphia law firm Duane Morris, who specializes in workplace training, says he hears that confusion in the conversations men are now having among themselves. "It's more like, 'I wonder if I should tell someone they look nice, I wonder when it's O.K. to give a hug, I wonder when

MEGYN KELLY | 47 | JOURNALIST

The host of NBC's *Megyn Kelly Today* and former Fox News anchor called out Bill O'Reilly for claiming that nobody at Fox News had complained about his behavior. She had. In 2016, Kelly revealed that she'd been sexually harassed by former Fox News CEO Roger Ailes.

"I always thought maybe things could change for my daughter. I never thought things could change for me. Never. I believed the system was stacked against women, and the smart ones would understand how to navigate it ... I'm starting to see it so differently. What if we did complain? What if we didn't whine, but insisted that those around us did better?"

*Ailes denied Kelly's claims of harassment before he died in May. O'Reilly said he didn't know of any complaint by Kelly.*

I should be alone with someone in a room,'" he says.

This uncertainty can be corrosive. While everyone wants to smoke out the serial predators and rapists, there is a risk that the net may be cast too far. What happens when someone who makes a sexist joke winds up lumped into the same bucket as a boss who gropes an employee? Neither should be encouraged, but nor should they be equated.

Companies, meanwhile, are scrambling to keep up. Most large U.S.-based corporations now have fairly complete policies on sexual harassment, and many have anti–sexual harassment training programs and claim to be "zero-tolerance workplaces." A 2016 EEOC report found that a company's willingness to protect so-called rainmakers—high-performing men like Kalanick, Weinstein and O'Reilly—to be one of the most pernicious reasons C-suites and corporate boards overlooked harassment. It doesn't matter how good a company's policy is if its systems are ignored or don't work. "So much harassment training is like an episode of *The Office,*" says Victoria Lipnic, the acting chair of the EEOC.

In some instances, sexual-harassment training has even been shown to backfire. In a 2001 study, Lisa Scherer, an associate professor of industrial-organizational psychology at the University of Nebraska at Omaha, found that while training increased knowledge about

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### JANE MERRICK | 43 | JOURNALIST

Britain's Defense Secretary Michael Fallon quit his Cabinet position after Merrick said he "lunged" at her when she was a young reporter.

"I think we're all part of this movement. On Twitter, there aren't any country borders, because it's such a powerful thing. There are millions of women who have experienced harassment and assault in every country."

*Fallon said in a statement that he's "behaved inappropriately in the past."*

### ZELDA PERKINS | 44 | PRODUCER

Perkins broke the nondisclosure agreement she signed in 1998 when she accused Harvey Weinstein of sexual misconduct.

"My heart sinks when I think about the very bright women who should be at the top of their careers but aren't because they've had to deal with this. I think there would be hundreds more women in top positions. I really do."

*Weinstein has denied the allegations of harassment.*

### TERRY REINTKE | 30 | PARLIAMENT MEMBER

Reintke, the youngest female member of the European Parliament, spoke about her experience with sexual harassment during a debate in Brussels in October.

"We need to break these patterns that, when you are in a powerful position, you can do whatever you want and that sexism is something that women just have to endure if they want to climb up the career ladder."

*The European Parliament has said it will hire external investigators to look into allegations of harassment among its staff.*

### BEX BAILEY | 25 | CHARITY WORKER

In the U.K., Labour Party activist Bailey said she was raped at a party event in 2011 when she was 19. She said she was then discouraged from reporting the attack by a senior Labour official.

"It's pretty simple: Don't make women feel uncomfortable, don't touch them without their consent, and no means no."

*The Labour Party appointed a human-rights attorney to lead an independent probe into Bailey's allegation.*



PHOTOGRAPH BY KATE PETERS FOR TIME

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UNITED STATES MINT

AMANDA SCHMITT | 30 | ART CURATOR

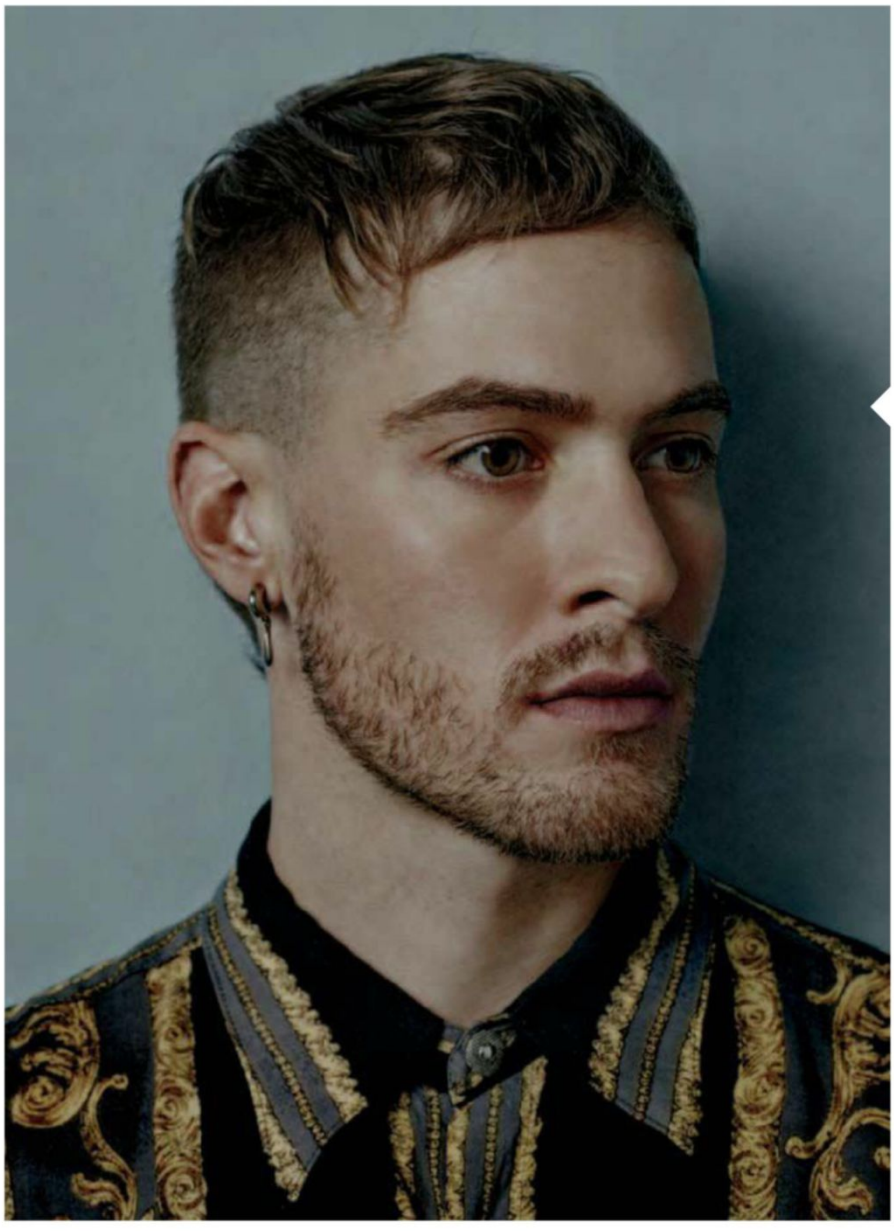
A publisher of *Artforum*, Knight Landesman, stepped down after Schmitt sued him for sexual harassment.

"The harassment started when I was at the beginning of my career and had just moved to New York City. I was trying to figure out my place in the art world, my place in the city, my place as an adult in the workplace. The harassment began so early, and it was so accepted in the industry. When I finally spoke out publicly, I wondered why I hadn't sooner. I was afraid that I didn't have the strength to make it stop. I don't feel that fear anymore."

*Artforum's other publishers say they took swift action to support Schmitt. Landesman could not be reached for comment.*

Iwu organized an open letter signed by 147 women calling out harassment in California's capital, which launched a state-senate investigation.

"Young women told me about the same men who harassed me years ago. And all I did was participate in the whisper network: 'Here's what you can wear,' 'Here's where you can go,' 'Here's who to avoid.' But you have to address it head on and as a group. It's hard to call 147 women liars. We can't all be crazy. We can't all be sluts."



BLAISE GODBE LIPMAN | 28 | DIRECTOR

Lipman accused former agent Tyler Grasham of sexually assaulting him when he was 18. Grasham has since been dismissed by his agency and is being investigated by the Los Angeles Police Department.

"I experienced a little bit of victim blaming, victim shaming—people digging into my Instagram and pulling up sexy photos, as if that discredited me from speaking out against sexual violence. And gay men are often highly sexualized in the media, so coming out with a story of sexual assault, especially one that also involved alcohol and maybe drugs, there is an idea that 'Well, did you want it?'"

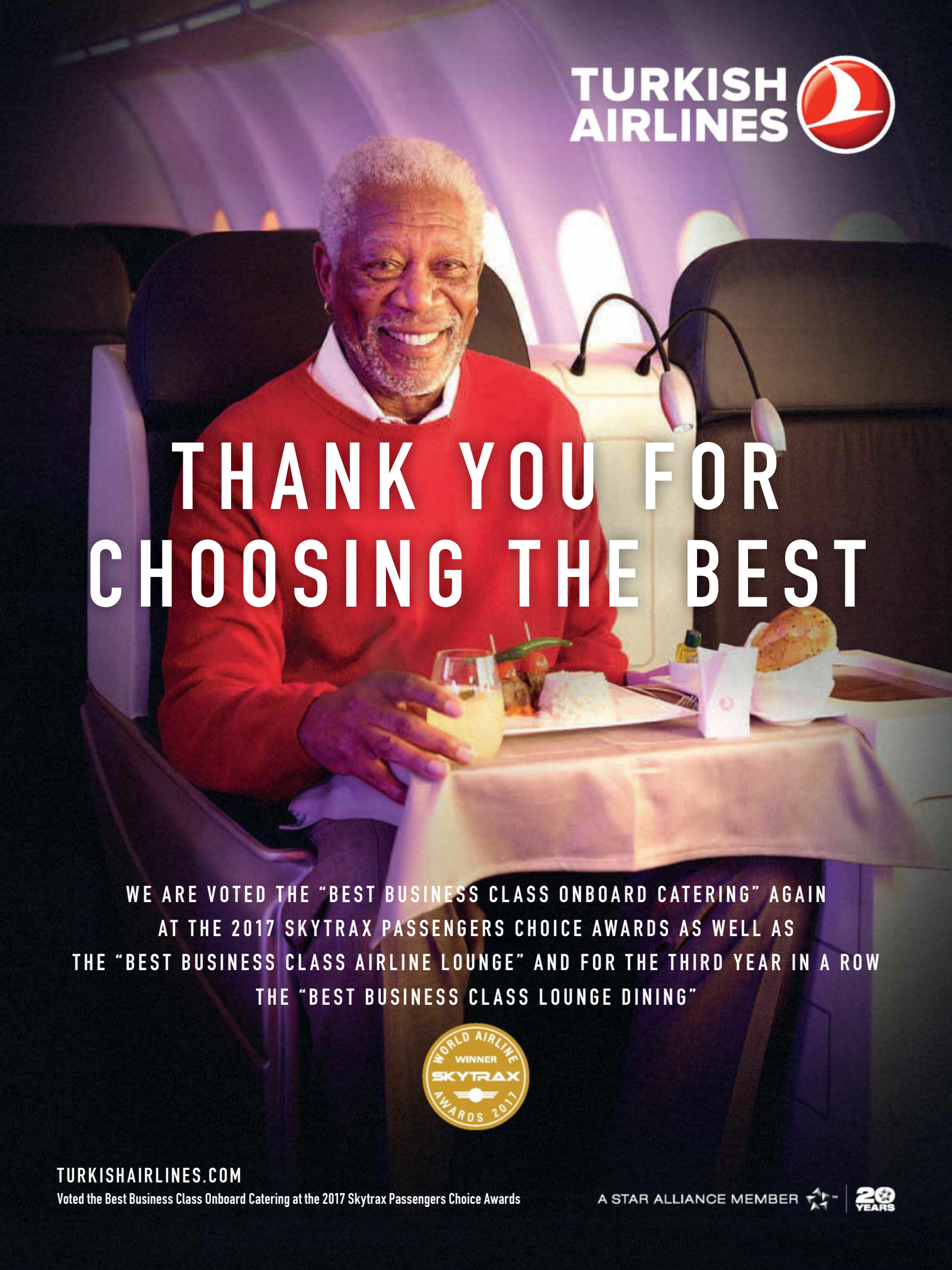
*Grasham could not be reached for comment.*

what constituted sexual harassment, it also sometimes had a corrosive effect on workplace culture. "What was disturbing was that the males who had gone through training showed a backlash effect," she says. "They said they were less willing to report sexual harassment than the males who had not gone through the training."

Employers are also girding for future allegations and lawsuits. The insurance company Nationwide reported a 15% increase in sales of employment practices liability insurances between 2016 and 2017. And Advisen, which tracks insurance trends, says that EPLI insurance price has increased 30% since 2011, which indicates that more companies are reporting losses.

Corporate boards, wary of alienating female employees and customers and of drawing bad press, have been among the quickest to make changes. Uber, for example, which built its reputation on a willingness to flout norms, used to be a guiding light for small startups. Now nobody is pitching their company as the next Uber, says Fowler. "There's a shift to, 'We're not disrupting anymore. We're trying to build something that's good for consumers and treats employees fairly.'" It's a start.

State and local governments have also taken some concrete steps. In October, the Chicago city council passed an ordinance requiring hotels to provide panic buttons to employees who work alone in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hotel rooms. In Springfield, Ill., lawmakers passed a measure that will allow an investigation into a backlog of sexual-harassment complaints in the statehouse. In Arizona, pending legislation would void nondisclosure agreements signed by victims of harassment to keep them silent.

At the federal level, the House and Senate have passed new rules requiring members of Congress and their staff to complete mandatory sexual-harassment training. A handful of Senators have also introduced legislation to rein in what are known as mandatory arbitration agreements—legal clauses that can appear in employee contracts that prevent workers from suing their employers in court for any reason, including sexual harassment. Some 60 million American workers are currently bound by them.

## V

WE'RE STILL AT THE BOMB-THROWING point of this revolution, a reactive stage at which nuance can go into hiding. But while anger can start a revolution, in its most raw and feral form it can't negotiate the more delicate dance steps needed for true social change. Private conversations, which can't be legislated or enforced, are essential.

Norms evolve, and it's long past time for any culture to view harassment as acceptable. But there's a great deal at stake in how we assess these new boundaries—for women and men together. We can and should police criminal acts and discourage inappropriate, destructive behavior.

At least we've started asking the right questions. Ones that seem alarmingly basic in hindsight: "What if we did complain?" proposes Megyn Kelly. "What if we didn't whine, but we spoke our truth in our strongest voices and insisted that those around us did better? What if that worked to change reality right now?" Kelly acknowledges that this still feels more like a promise than a certainty. But for the moment, the world is listening. *—With reporting by* CHARLOTTE ALTER *and* SUSANNA SCHROBSDORFF/NEW YORK, SAM LANSKY/LOS ANGELES, KATE SAMUELSON/LONDON, MAYA RHODAN/WASHINGTON *and* KATY STEINMETZ/SAN FRANCISCO

'I STAYED ANONYMOUS BECAUSE I LIVE IN A VERY SMALL COMMUNITY. AND THEY JUST THINK USUALLY THAT WE'RE LYING AND COMPLAINERS.'

—ANONYMOUS

ANONYMOUS | 22 | FORMER OFFICE ASSISTANT

After a co-worker allegedly began kissing and pressing himself on her, this young Native American woman says she felt trapped. Her office had no HR department. She didn't feel her colleagues or family on her small, conservative reservation would believe her. So she quit her job.

"On the reservation, we keep to ourselves and don't really put too much out there. I thought of all the other people that had no voice. They're scared to do something like this because their parents say, 'You're not supposed to do that. You're not supposed to speak up.'"

THE AGITATOR

NO. 2 | THE AGITATOR

# DONALD TRUMP

THE 45TH COMMANDER IN CHIEF HAS CHANGED THE RULES OF THE PRESIDENCY

BY MOLLY BALL

THE SHOW OFTEN STARTS BEFORE dawn. With a flicker of anticipation or a feeling of dread, people around the world roll over in bed, fumble for their phones and learn whether one of the most powerful people on the planet has tweeted. It's an uncanny kind of intimacy. He tells us what he's watching on television, what grudges he's nursing and what he wants us to think. This is life during the presidency of Donald Trump.

By the traditional measures of presidential influence—legislation passed, policies enacted, visions projected onto the world—Trump has used his first year in office to considerable effect. He has backed out of multilateral trade deals and edged closer to nuclear confrontation

PHOTOGRAPH BY BENJAMIN RASMUSSEN

with North Korea. He has appointed a Supreme Court Justice who thrilled conservatives and is reshaping the judiciary. He has rolled back regulations and has shrunk the federal government. He has removed millions of acres of wilderness from federal land protection. As the year's end nears, he is tantalizingly close to signing a sweeping tax bill that would touch almost every corner of American life, slashing the corporate tax rate, closing multiple loopholes, ballooning the federal deficit, rattling real estate markets and undermining Obamacare. For all that, the Administration's record doesn't nearly live up to Trump's own hype—"just about the most successful in our country's history," he bragged at the 100-day mark—and it is an open question how permanent his accomplishments will be.

The greater impact of Trump's first year in office is that he has changed the presidency. The passing feuds, the wild accusations, the crude and divisive language—no other Commander in Chief has broadcast his outbursts in such an unfiltered torrent. He has spurned traditional allies and democratic values overseas, carried into office a sprawling business empire and the potential conflicts of interest that come with it, pitted American corporations against each other in high-profile face-offs, and gleefully gone to war with the press, with leaders of his own party, with his long-defeated political opponents. Even his most loyal allies struggle to understand the behavior. "I do not follow the tweets," White House chief of staff John Kelly recently told reporters. "They are what they are."

Trump's candidacy rewrote the rules of politics. Now he has changed the rules of the presidency. From Washington to Wall Street, Peoria to Pyongyang, late-night television to social media, much of the world revolves around the Trump show. He inserts himself into social debates—the protests in the National Football League, the fight over Confederate monuments—and instantly turns them into cultural flash points.

The daily flow of conflict can be numbing. A new Trump tweet can light up cable news for days, then recede into nothingness: Remember his all-out war on the Congresswoman who said he'd been callous to a soldier's widow? Or the time he called the North Korean dictator Kim Jong Un "short and fat"? The perpetual provocations thrill his supporters, horrify his opponents—and keep Trump at the center of the story.

There is substance to the spectacle. Bit by bit, warn critics on both sides of the deepening political divide, the 45th President is changing the fabric of society. City councils and school boards are fraught with new tensions. Family members unfriend one another on Facebook. In a September Washington *Post* poll, two-thirds of Americans said the President was dividing the country. Trump didn't cause the growing rifts in American life—the increasing political polarization; the urban-rural divide; our self-sorting into economically and culturally homogenous tribes. But he has wrenched them wider.

Before Trump, Chris Danou, a former police officer, was a Democratic representative from Trempealeau, Wis. He got on well with his culturally conservative neighbors. The day Trump won the White House, Danou's neighbors voted him out of the state legislature. The blow he felt was more than a political defeat. "I was mad that people I considered decent people voted for someone I considered indecent," he says. "I thought, I'm not sure I want my kids to grow up around here." Not long after the election, he and his family took an opportunity to move to a more like-minded community.

Trump's backers argue that the country needed to be jolted into a course correction—however painful—after decades of decline. Ignore the noise, they say, and look at the results. "I don't like the man," says Randy Bradley, who owns restaurants in Missouri and Iowa, "[but] as a business owner I'm very impressed. I think he's restoring a sense of optimism to the business community that's going to lead to greater investment."

America is a big country, bigger than any one President or any one constituency. But in Trump it is experiencing something new. His presidency is already a consequential one, with far-reaching effects—from the decisions he has made to the reaction he has caused.

**FOREIGN LEADERS HAVE** scrambled to adapt. "The United States has been the principal promoter and defender of the post–World War II order in the world.

Trump signs an Executive Order on tax regulations at the White House on April 21

GABRIELLA DEMCZUK—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

What Trump has signaled is that that will no longer necessarily be the case," says Richard Haass, president of the Council on Foreign Relations and former head of policy planning at George W. Bush's State Department. Trump's praise for brutal regimes such as those of Turkey's Recep Tayyip Erdogan and the Philippines' Rodrigo Duterte has given comfort to tyrants around the world. The Europeans have accelerated talks with partners in Asia, sidestepping the U.S. to strike a deal with Japan in July that could potentially put American firms at a disadvantage. Trump's announced pullout from the Paris Agreement led the E.U. and China to take the lead against global warming, reaffirming their support for a global fund worth $100 billion per year to help cut greenhouse gases in developing countries. Trump's criticism of NATO has prompted treaty nations to strengthen their military structures out of concern that the U.S. might not guarantee their security. After Germany moved to integrate two brigades from other E.U. countries into its own armed forces, Chancellor Angela Merkel declared, "We Europeans must really take our fate into our own hands."

A renegotiation of the balance of Middle East power is under way, abetted by signals from Trump. Less than two weeks after the President's first trip to the region, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain and Egypt imposed a blockade on Qatar. Trump tweeted in support of the action, and the President's then strategist Stephen Bannon said the timing of the blockade was not "just by happenstance." Saudi Arabia and its allies, seeing Trump's support as a green light, have undertaken domestic crackdowns and aggressive foreign-policy moves. Israel has approved new settlement construction in the West Bank.

America's biggest corporations lobbied against Trump's pullout from the 12-country Trans-Pacific Partnership. Agricultural companies like Monsanto and Tyson Foods would have benefited from the estimated $7.2 billion boost to agricultural exports over 15 years, according to the U.S. International Trade Commission. But the biggest challenge for American business under Trump has been the uncertainty caused by his unorthodox behavior. Early in his term, he pitted the defense contractors Boeing and Lockheed Martin against each other in a tweetstorm questioning the price tag of the F-35 military jet. Lockheed's stock fell 2%. Toyota lost $1.2 billion in market value in five minutes when Trump, in a tweet, threatened consequences if the firm moved a plant to Mexico—although his tweet cited the wrong city for the proposed move. Episodes like these have CEOs spending valuable time coming up with strategies to avoid the President's public wrath.

Business leaders have hailed the Trump Administration's regulatory rollbacks and its push for corporate tax cuts. The stock market has continued to soar. The sweeping tax plan promises a windfall for corporations. Depending on negotiations between the House and Senate, the bills under consideration could also lower individual tax rates, reduce

the number of households subject to estate tax, increase tax credits for parents and repeal the individual mandate to buy health insurance under Obamacare. They would also, according to official estimates, add more than a trillion dollars to the deficit.

The single most frequent subject of Trump's angry tweets, according to an analysis by Axios, is the media. From cries of "fake news" to calling journalists the "enemy of the people" to suggesting networks have their licenses cut, he has taken the always-fraught relationship between Presidents and reporters to a new level of hostility. "It is a sustained attack on the press, on freedom of speech and on the Constitution," warns Richard Painter, a law professor and former ethics lawyer for George W. Bush. TIME had sought and tentatively secured the President's participation in an interview and photo shoot for this article. On Nov. 24, the day after Thanksgiving, he abruptly pulled out. "Time Magazine called to say that I was PROBABLY going to be named 'Man (Person) of the Year,' like last year, but I would have to agree to an interview and a major photo shoot," the President tweeted. "I said probably is no good and took a pass. Thanks anyway!" Trump's tweet was not accurate: TIME made no assurances and placed no conditions on the outcome of our editorial decisionmaking.

Besides the likely tax reform, the major domestic policy accomplishment of Trump's first year has been a dramatic rollback of the administrative state. The deregulatory push pleases conservatives and dismays liberals, who say thinly staffed Executive Branch departments from State to Energy have hampered the basic functioning of the federal bureaucracy. Agency heads like Betsy DeVos, Mick Mulvaney and Scott Pruitt are openly hostile to the departments they've been tasked with leading and are working to scale back their mandates. The proposed withdrawal of the EPA's Clean Power Plan, for example, has environmentalists warning of climate-altering, air-polluting emissions—even as fossil-fuel companies predict a boost to consumers and the economy.

Perhaps no one has been more disoriented by Trump's reign than his ostensible allies in the Republican Party. Its leaders live in fear that he'll suddenly turn on them, as when he attacked Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell in August; or mess up their legislation, as when he called a health care bill "mean"; or announce a higher corporate tax threshold than the one they'd negotiated. A record number of Republicans have already announced their retirement from the House. Republicans have also struggled to adapt to a changed political landscape, like the Virginia gubernatorial candidate who reoriented his campaign around preserving Confederate statues and stopping Hispanic gangs—but still lost by a wide margin.

Trump's approval rating, recently measured at 33% by Gallup, is by far the lowest for a first-year President in recorded history. The former mogul's transition to political life was disorienting, insiders say. Trump thrives on routine and spent his entire adult life in New York City before his move to the White House. "He had the same chair in his office for over 40 years, so from a personal point of view, it was difficult," says Sam Nunberg, Trump's former political adviser. He wonders if Trump, whose staff shake-ups have driven most loyalists out of proximity, is heading toward a Nixon-like situation where "he's surrounded by strangers."

**IT IS EASY** to lose perspective in the moment. Trump has a particular aptitude for pushing his critics' buttons, so that every utterance gets magnified into the supposed end of the Republic. Liberals once declared the country to be on the verge of collapse under George W. Bush; conservatives proclaimed the same under Barack Obama. The nation survived.

The world is adjusting. The stock market has ceased to fluctuate on his every growl. While CEOs normally jump for a seat at the White House table, after Trump's equivocal response to white-nationalist violence in Charlottesville, Va., in August, many decided to walk away. Most of the companies Trump has attacked have seen their stock prices bounce back and then some. Lower down the economic chain, everyday workers haven't seen a lasting Trump bump. The 11 remaining members of the Trans-Pacific Partnership are steaming ahead with a new trade deal. Foreign leaders and Washington players have started to shrug at Trump's theatrics.

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As a candidate, Trump's rhetoric triggered anxieties about race, class, gender and social change. As President, Trump has continued to pit Americans against one another, from the Inaugural Address that conjured a landscape of "American carnage" to his criticism of the "sons of bitches" in professional football to retweeting a British anti-Muslim extremist. The sense of tribal solidarity Trump stirs in some of his supporters has made his presidency empowering for them. But for those on the other side of his us-vs.-them equation, the feeling is different. African Americans face an Administration that has rolled back programs to combat systemic bias in the justice system. Immigrants in the country illegally see an expanded regime of raids, resulting in apprehensions at courthouses, churches and job sites. Under Trump, arrests made by Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents have surged more than 40%. A Mexican woman who had lived in the U.S. for decades had previously been assured she wouldn't be deported as long as she followed the rules. She went for a customary check-in with immigration authorities in Phoenix—and was arrested and deported, with her children left behind.

Ultimately, immigrants and people of color fear not just Trump but also the forces he has emboldened. "The greatest fear people had was the hate Trump incited in other people," says Olivia Vazquez, a community organizer with the Philadelphia immigrant-rights group Juntos. According to the FBI, hate crimes reached a five-year high in 2016, with the pace accelerating around the time of the election.

There may be danger ahead for Trump as the investigation by former FBI director Robert Mueller into Russia's operation against the 2016 election snares former members of the President's inner circle. Mueller filed his first indictments on Oct. 30, charging Trump's former campaign chairman and deputy campaign manager with money laundering. On Dec. 1, Trump's former National Security Adviser, Michael Flynn, pleaded guilty to lying to the FBI and announced that he is cooperating with authorities. Friends say Trump remains convinced he has nothing to worry about. "His view is that this will be wrapped up pretty quickly, because he believes—and I believe him 100%—there is nothing to the Russia story," says Trump's friend Christopher Ruddy, who spent part of Thanksgiving weekend with him. Most observers, however, doubt the investigation will reach a conclusion anytime soon.

Trump talks to reporters as he departs the White House on Nov. 21

Still, Ruddy would like to see Trump lash out at critics less, and cater more to the middle than to his base. If not, he says, next year's elections could be an "earthquake." A popular uprising of angry women and young people has Republicans bracing for a bloodbath in the midterm elections.

One thing is sure: love him or hate him, Trump has invaded our attention in ways previous Presidents never did. He commands more than just the levers of executive power; he has the nation, and the world, in the grip of his singular performance, and events have bent to his will. This has been Year One of Trump's presidency, and the Trump show continues unabated. The reviews may be mixed, but no one can turn away. —*With reporting by* TESSA BERENSON, ELIZABETH DIAS *and* NASH JENKINS/WASHINGTON; CHARLIE CAMPBELL/BEIJING; JARED MALSIN/ISTANBUL; ALAN MURRAY/NEW YORK; *and* SIMON SHUSTER/BERLIN ◻

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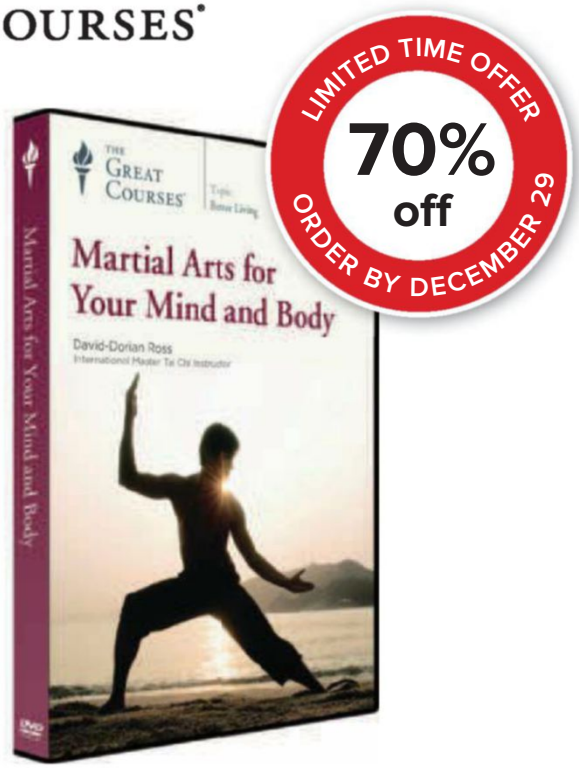
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THE CHAIRMAN

NO. 3 | THE CHAIRMAN

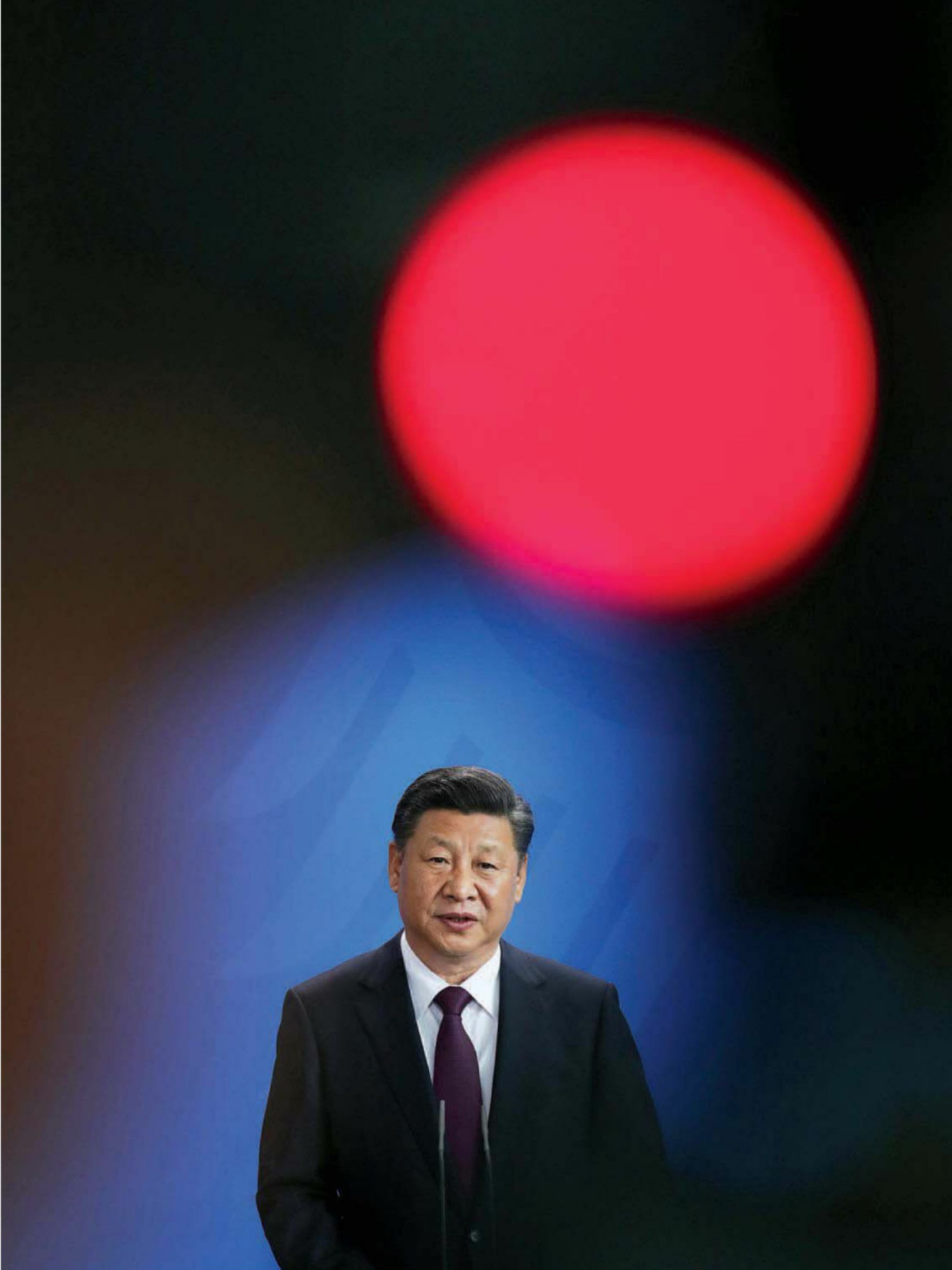
# XI JINPING

CHINA'S LEADER VIES FOR GLOBAL DOMINANCE

BY KARL VICK AND CHARLIE CAMPBELL / BEIJING

SOMETIMES THINGS JUST SEEM TO GO your way. In 2017, Chinese President Xi Jinping strengthened his hold over the world's most populous nation, was inducted into the pantheon of party leaders beside Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping and—small detail—announced that China henceforth intends to lead the world. He mentioned this deep into an Oct. 18 speech that ran beyond three hours, which begins to account for why so audacious a declaration drew relatively little notice. But then it also came after the President of the United States had signaled time and again over the previous 10 months that America might be surrendering the top spot. Drama requires conflict. This

PHOTOGRAPH BY KRISZTIAN BOCSI



felt more like process. Donald Trump posted an unexpected vacancy, and China readied its application for the slot.

But fortune, as Louis Pasteur noted, favors the prepared mind. China's leaders spent decades priming the country—historically viewed by the outside world as so insular that its national icon is a wall—to stake a claim for how it has always seen itself: the Middle Kingdom, at the center of the world. And it was no coincidence that its new ambition was announced by a leader so firmly in control that the party congress authorizing what should be his final term declined to designate a successor.

This year, Xi cemented his place as the most powerful Chinese leader since Deng, the visionary who turned China toward a market economy in the mid-'80s. In Xi's first five years in office, he has reasserted the primacy of the Communist Party, fought government corruption, launched a global strategy of economic outreach and stoked Chinese nationalism while casting himself as a world statesman. At home he has cultivated both a bourgeoisie and a cult of personality, and has brought an iron fist down on advocates of free speech, an uncensored Internet, civil society and human rights. In the process, he has dashed the hopes of the Western governments that believed China's embrace of capitalism would lead to democracy.

All that was clear even before Trump took office and pushed Xi's influence to new heights. Shedding the U.S. mission statement that had shaped the modern order—to spread democracy, free enterprise and universal rights—Trump instead enunciated a mercantilist worldview where self-interest is all. Then he went to Beijing and told Xi that China was better at it. China deserves "great credit," he said in November, for being able to "take advantage of another country for the benefit of its citizens."

"Everything's going to plan," says Kerry Brown, director of the Lau China Institute at London's King's College and the author of *CEO, China: The Rise of Xi Jinping*. "If you were to write a work of fiction on how to have a perfect presidency, you couldn't do better: no opposition, a strong economy and an American President who seems to be a bigger fan of Xi Jinping than Xi Jinping is himself."

> 'IF YOU WERE TO WRITE A WORK OF FICTION ON HOW TO HAVE A PERFECT PRESIDENCY, YOU COULDN'T DO BETTER.'
>
> —KERRY BROWN, DIRECTOR OF THE LAU CHINA INSTITUTE

The question now is whether his fortune holds.

**AT 64,** Xi has lived more than 20 years longer than the age a Chinese male was expected to reach in 1953. Life expectancy in the year of his birth was 41; today it's 76. But his life has already been memorialized by the party he heads.

Xi was born into privilege, the son of Xi Zhongxun, a commander turned propagandist who, because his wife often traveled for her job at the Marxism-Leninism Institute, was unusually prominent in their family life. The third of four children, Xi was a princeling who was educated at elite schools in Beijing and thus insulated from privations like the famine that killed millions of people in Mao's ill-named Great Leap Forward. But his father was purged from leadership positions, and in Mao's Cultural Revolution the younger Xi was "sent down" at age 15 to live for seven years in the village of Liangjiahe. It's now a pilgrimage site.

In the peak summer months, 5,000 visitors arrive at Liangjiahe daily, legions of them officials, or cadres, of the party. They listen carefully to the guides and note observations for reports they will write when they get home. Newspapers line the walls of the cave where Xi lived, and the bookshelves include not only Chinese classics but also Voltaire,

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Xi addresses the Communist Party Congress on Oct. 18

Hemingway and Kissinger. "Everyone used to go to the Mao base," says taxi driver Biang Sheng Li, referring to another pilgrimage site an hour away, where the Long March ended. "But since last year, even more people are going to Xi's village."

The intended message has taken root. "Xi knew people's life and their hardships," says Zhu Rong Xian, 40, a Hangzhou businesswoman who made the pilgrimage. "It made him a better leader." In a green military cap with a red star, signaling political fealty to the party, and tasseled leather boots, Zhu had donned the clothes of the China that emerged, as Xi did, from the ashes of communalism.

The future President was an early supporter of Deng's reform campaign, which embraced private business while maintaining a monopoly control of politics. Once rehabilitated, Xi's father helped pioneer the special economic zones that tested the export-manufacturing economy that would drive China's phenomenal growth for the next 40 years, fueled by cheap labor and U.S. investment. The son, after earning an engineering degree in Beijing and working briefly for the military, labored for a quarter-century in the provinces—the traditional proving ground for Chinese leaders. Terry Branstad, the current U.S. ambassador to China, remembers meeting him as governor of Iowa in 1985, when Xi was with a county-level delegation visiting the city of Muscatine. "What I found very different about him than other Chinese leaders I met with was that he's much more outgoing and inquisitive," Branstad tells TIME.

PREVIOUS PAGES: BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES; THIS PAGE: LINTAO ZHANG—GETTY IMAGES

But Xi did not then stand out at home: when he ran for one of 150 openings on the Central Committee in 1997, he finished 151st (room was made). During most of his career, he has been overshadowed by his second wife, folk singer Peng Liyuan, whom he wed in 1987. By the time Xi did emerge in the senior echelon, the party was edging into crisis. Cadres had taken to capitalism a little too well, and the ruling legitimacy of the party was disappearing behind the tinted windows of the luxury Audis favored by even junior officials.

Xi emerged as the heir apparent in 2007 and oversaw the Beijing Olympics the following year—a lavish event that displayed unprecedented Chinese soft power to the watching world. His first act as General Secretary in 2012 was to set about cleaning up the party, ensuring that it made rules and not money. His anticorruption drive transformed public life. At the same time Xi was reopening 7,000 party offices, thousands of officials faced investigation—including many rivals. Golf courses shut down as Xi punished *guanxi,* the clubby networking dynamic that was once how business got done. Li Hua, a foreign-affairs official in China's Xinjiang region, remembers feeling conspicuous for shunning marathon banquets in favor of jogging and reading history. "Before, that made me a loner and a source of suspicion," he says. "But now—after the anticorruption campaign—it is quite normal." Meanwhile, Xi made public visits to a humble Beijing dumpling shop, ordering steamed buns.

Corruption was not the only threat Xi perceived to party supremacy. Free expression, human rights, civil society and Internet freedom also became targets. After decades of carefully calibrating how much dissent to tolerate—an ambiguity that offered a measure of freedom for dissenters, and a stubborn hope for Western governments—China passed a series of comprehensive, harsh laws in the name of national security. "The main building blocks are now in place, so the idea of effecting change is more or less over," says Peter Dahlin, a Swedish human-rights advocate. "For quite a long time, these developments have been cyclical in nature. But it is here to stay. It's permanent, a new normal."

Dahlin speaks from experience. In 2016, he was held for 23 days in what is blandly called a Residential Surveillance at a Designated Location, or a "black jail." He was deprived of sleep but was not subjected to the torture that Chinese prisoners, beyond the reach of lawyers, endure. "For the first time," he says now, at the midpoint in Xi's tenure, "a major nation has legalized the systematic use of enforced disappearance."

**THE FOUNDING MYTH** of U.S. global leadership begins with the attack on Pearl Harbor, and a Japanese admiral fretting, "I fear all we have done is to awaken a sleeping giant." Seven decades later, Trump revived the prewar slogan "America first," suggesting that the giant was ready to lie down. Then he withdrew the U.S. from the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a trade pact intended to hold a rapacious China in check economically. When, in June, Trump announced the U.S.'s withdrawal from the international effort to slow climate change, the new President of France, Emmanuel Macron, privately declared in a summit: "Now China leads."

And China was ready, finally. For decades, its leaders had heeded the advice of Deng: "Hide our capacities and bide our time; be good at maintaining a low profile; and never claim leadership." China had already shrugged off any lingering sense of inferiority in 2008, when it surveyed the wreckage of the global recession from a safe perch. But 2017 marked the coming out. Four days before Trump's isolationist Inaugural Address, Xi made his first trip to the gathering of the globalist elite at Davos. "We should commit ourselves to growing an open global economy," he said. "Pursuing protectionism is like locking oneself in a dark room. While wind and rain may be kept outside, that dark room will also block light and air."

At every turn in the months ahead, Xi told the world that China was no longer thinking only about itself. In March, it banned the trade in ivory. In May, Xi convened a summit on the Belt and Road Initiative, a $900 billion infrastructure project intended to bind Asia and Africa to China physically and economically, part of a larger effort to girdle the globe—from a highway in Pakistan to a port in Colombia—as the British Empire did a century ago. Like the British, what China has in mind is both profit and national glory. And it too has found an ally in the U.S.

"The U.S. was one of the countries that had done the most to help China modernize from the Maoist era, and there was an assumption that as China modernized and got wealthier, China would become more like the United States," says Steve Tsang, director of the SOAS China Institute at the University of London. "That was never really realistically on the agenda, and now we know it's not going to happen. But what is so extraordinary about Trump compared to other American Presidents is that no other person in the world—including Xi—has done more to make China great again."

Having told his supporters on the campaign trail that the Chinese "rape our country," Trump changed his tune in office, declaring that he feels "incredibly warm" about its President. His flattery adds to the glorification of "Big Uncle Xi," as Chinese are urged to think of the leader who, after his campaigns to create "the Chinese dream" and "national rejuvenation," reached for the ultimate prize on Oct. 18. "It is time for us to take center stage in the world," Xi told the cadres.

There are reasons to doubt that that's possible. China is certainly preparing itself for the future; with massive government support, it is positioned to surpass the U.S. in the next world-changing technology: artificial intelligence. It also excels in covert operations, including the major hack of the U.S. Office of Personnel Management, and by cultivating agents of influence at Western universities and in local politics. But its primary appeal to the world remains economic, with lending institutions like the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank. It faces the huge internal challenges of an aging population, an unworkable health care system, a halting transition to a service-based economy and a badly polluted environment. Trump may have abandoned the Paris Agreement, but U.S. carbon emissions are falling, while China's continue to rise.

The military that Xi has given 30 years to become a global force is huge and newly assertive, but basically local: it opened its first overseas base, in Djibouti, only this year. State media refers to the disputed islets it expanded in the South China Sea—an aggressive assertion of regional hegemony—as "unsinkable aircraft carriers." Of the floating kind, it has two.

> 'XI KNEW PEOPLE'S LIFE AND THEIR HARDSHIPS. IT MADE HIM A BETTER LEADER.'
>
> —ZHU RONG XIAN, HANGZHOU BUSINESSWOMAN

Trump's abandonment of core U.S. strengths—in his speech at the U.N. in September, he declined to take the side of democracy and universal freedoms—puts wind at the back of the nation's totalitarian rival, whose rich but insular culture does not appear to travel well. "The bottom line," says Brown, the Xi biographer, "is that China wants to have global reach, but it will be limited by its own nature."

The West has not yet lost its luster. The U.S. gathers its power not just from its nearly 1,000 military bases but also from a magnetic, truly global popular culture, a premier higher-education system (which Xi's daughter, a Harvard graduate, enjoyed) and an inclusive identity as a nation of immigrants. Since the collapse of communism as a global system, China no longer carries a unifying idea beyond its borders. Xi's mantra is exporting "socialism with special Chinese characteristics." No one seems to know what that means.

"I have asked many people: What exactly are you talking about?" says Elizabeth Economy, a China specialist at the Council on Foreign Relations. "Because as far as I can see, the Chinese model is a mixed market economy with significant state intervention, a repressive political system and corruption. Those to me are pretty much the three defining features of China over the past 40 years."

Selling that in the world marketplace that Xi champions is the biggest challenge of all. —*With reporting by* ZHANG CHI/LIANGJIAHE ◻

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THE ENFORCER

NO. 4 | THE ENFORCER

# ROBERT MUELLER

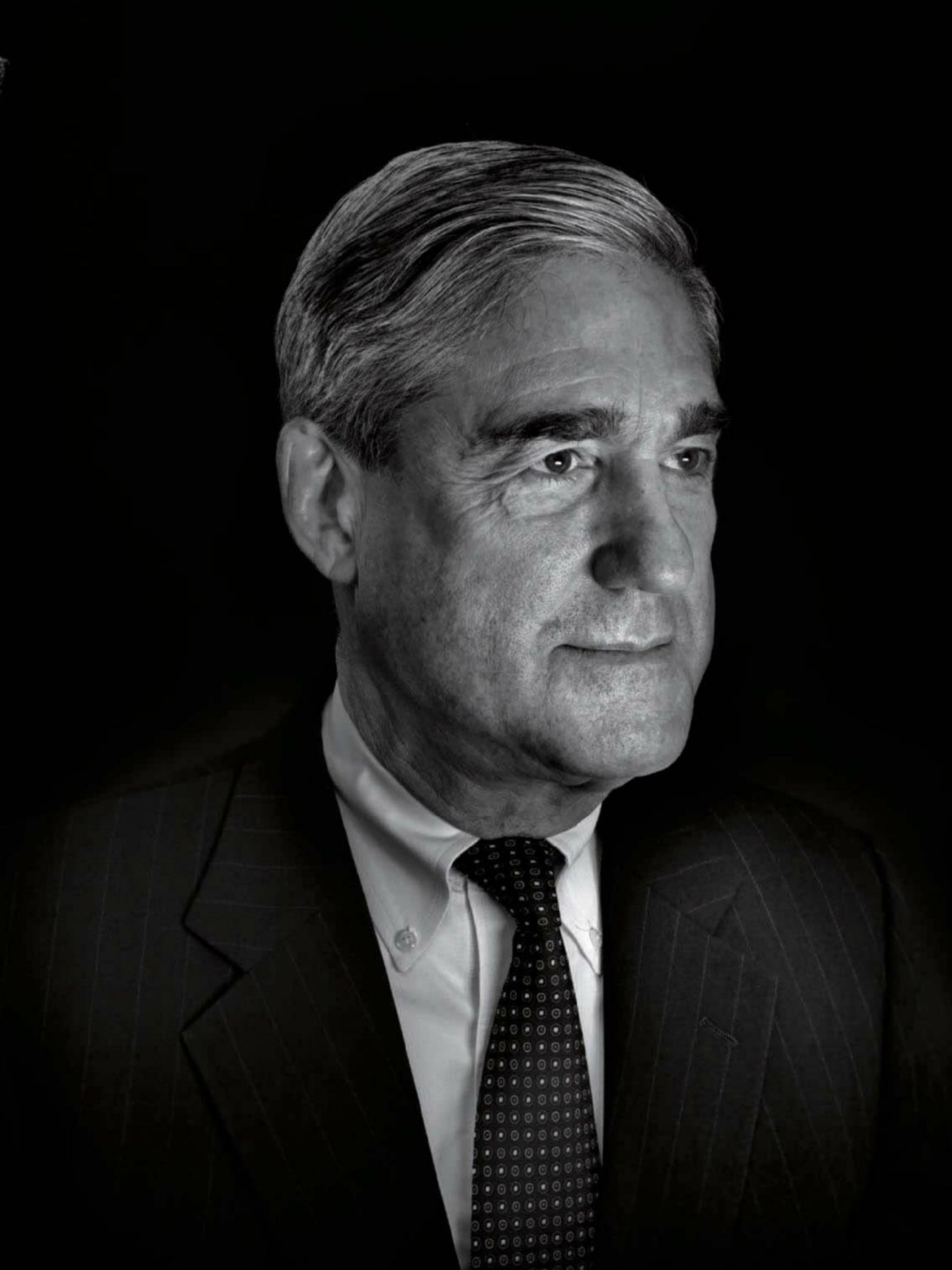
A PROSECUTOR KNOWN FOR RIGOR AND RECTITUDE GOES AFTER THE PRESIDENT'S MEN

BY MASSIMO CALABRESI

ON MAY 17, THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF Justice gave Robert Mueller a mission at once simple and daunting: investigate the Russian government's efforts to interfere in the 2016 U.S. presidential election; uncover any coordination between Moscow and members of Donald Trump's campaign; and prosecute any crimes that were committed in the process.

Since Mueller took up that task, the special counsel has held the country in his thrall. Backed by an independent budget, rare bipartisan support and a team of veteran cops and prosecutors, he has made news even when he tried not to. Loose-lipped lawyers for Trump and his associates leaked details of the probe to the media. Scraps of evidence

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARCO GROB



made their way into public view from separate investigations in Congress. And the President, not known to be a target of the probe himself, fumed publicly as his first year in office was consumed by the once-in-a-generation spectacle of a powerful prosecutor on the trail of the President's men.

The tension rose when the special counsel started laying out his case. On Oct. 30, Mueller charged Trump's former campaign chairman, Paul Manafort, and Manafort's deputy with money laundering and other crimes, and secured a plea deal and pledge of cooperation from a low-level campaign adviser. A month later, on Dec. 1, Trump's former National Security Adviser, retired Lieut. General Michael Flynn, pleaded guilty to a single charge of lying to the FBI and swore to tell Mueller everything he knew about contacts that he and others had with Moscow.

As the investigation edged closer to Trump himself, and speculation ramped up about where it would all lead, it was easy to forget the essential dynamic of how it all began.

Washington is all about rules. One branch of government writes them, another settles arguments about them, the third enforces them. The high political drama of 2017 flowed from the arrival in our nation's capital of a roguish figure elected on the exhilarating notion that rules are to be flouted. But what felt liberating on the campaign trail proved challenging in a city built on constraint, where every 12th resident is a lawyer, or an officer of the court.

**THERE IS BARELY** a handful of people in all of America with the reputation and experience to take on the task of untangling a multipronged Russian influence operation from one of the most disorganized presidential campaigns in memory. After Trump fired FBI Director James Comey in May, initiating a crisis at the very top of government, the sighs of relief in Washington were audible when Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein named Robert Swan Mueller III to the task of investigating. Democrats and Republicans alike praised the patrician former Marine. Even Newt Gingrich, a close Trump ally, tweeted that day, "Robert Mueller is superb choice to be special counsel. His reputation is impeccable for honesty and integrity."

THE SIGHS OF RELIEF IN WASHINGTON WERE AUDIBLE WHEN DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL ROD ROSENSTEIN TAPPED MUELLER FOR THE JOB

Mueller served in Vietnam from 1968 to 1969, was wounded in combat and earned a Bronze Star with a *V* for valor, a Purple Heart and two Navy Commendation Medals. He got his law degree from the University of Virginia, and after a few years at a white-shoe firm, joined the U.S. Attorney's office in San Francisco. George W. Bush brought him back to Washington to be No. 2 at Justice, and he was sworn in as director of the FBI seven days before Sept. 11, 2001.

In that job for 12 years, Mueller reshaped the bureau to tackle the growing threat of transnational terrorists, a herculean undertaking for an agency that viewed intelligence and national security as secondary missions to beat-level criminal busts. He crossed swords with the younger Bush's White House team, twice threatening to resign over matters of principle: once when Justice found a Bush eavesdropping program to be illegal, and again when Bush ordered him to give back to Congress evidence gathered on Democratic Representative William Jefferson, who was later convicted of bribery, racketeering and money laundering.

For all his professional credibility, however, Mueller's efforts as special

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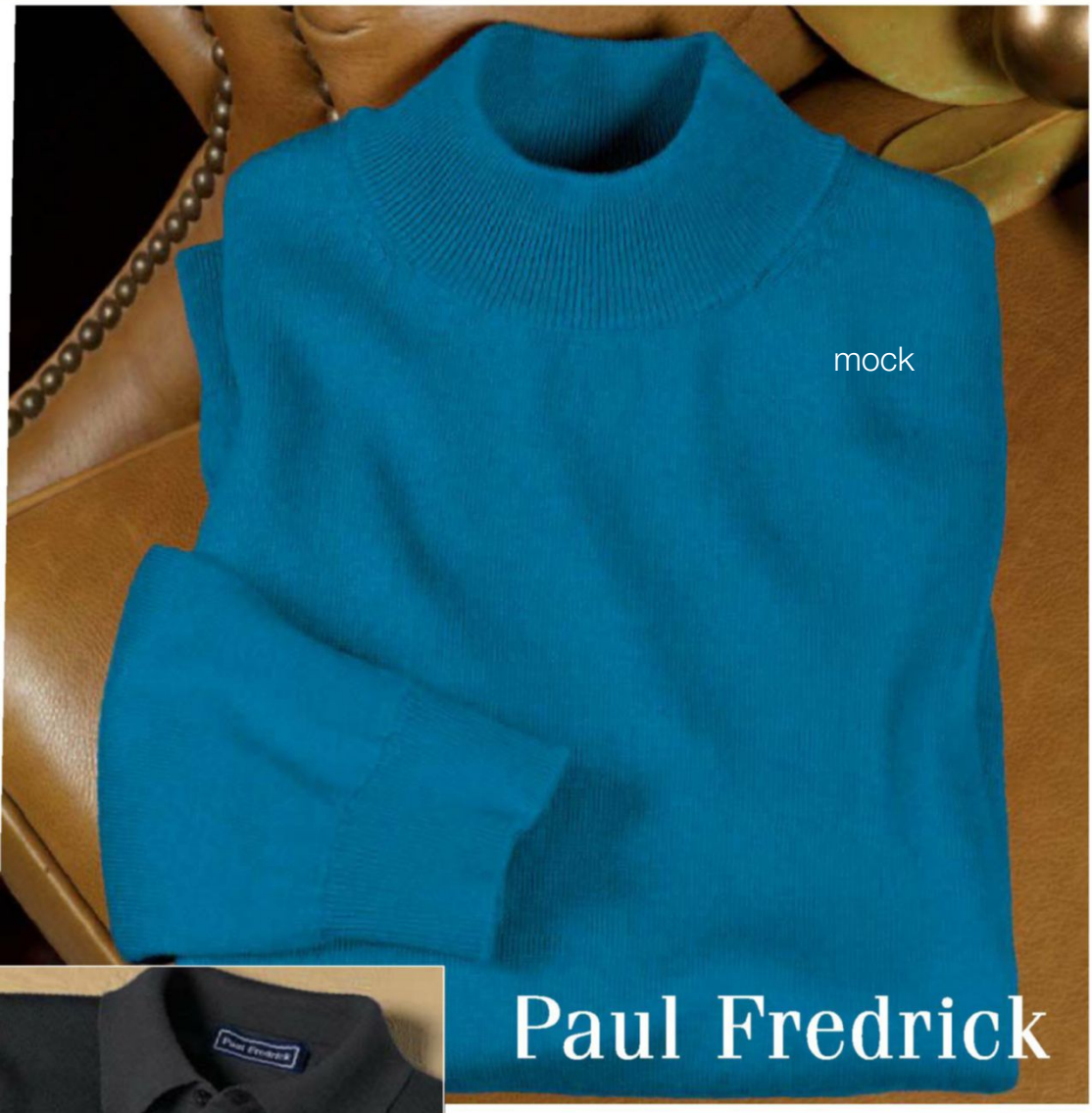

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Mueller leaves a closed meeting on June 21 with the Senate Judiciary Committee about Comey's firing

counsel have not gone unchallenged. In June, one of Trump's lawyers publicly entertained the idea that the President might fire Mueller because some said the investigation was expanding beyond its original mandate, which in fact is to investigate any crime he may find. That month, Trump tweeted that the Mueller investigation was a "Witch Hunt" and accused some members of the team of bias. By the fall, the editorial board of the *Wall Street Journal* had called for Mueller to resign.

The pressure has hurt the President more than the prosecutor. Mueller is a lifelong registered Republican, and many in the GOP revere him for his years of service. Two Republican Senators, Thom Tillis and Lindsey Graham, proposed legislation protecting the special counsel from firing, while conservative commentators lambasted Trump for meddling. The heat over the probe may have permanently undermined Trump's relations with his own Attorney General, Jeff Sessions, whose decision to recuse himself from the Russia matters—Sessions had been a member of the Trump campaign—opened the door for Rosenstein's selection of Mueller.

**FOR ALL THE FOCUS** on Trump and his inner circle, the Russia investigation is about something bigger than the conduct or outcome of the presidential campaign. The U.S. intelligence community concluded, and still believes, that the primary goal of the Russian operation was to undermine faith in American democracy at home and abroad. Mueller is America's answer to that challenge, the personification of the idea that rule of law remains paramount—even, or especially, when it touches our core democratic processes and our most powerful government officials.

Michael Zeldin, who worked directly for Mueller in Justice's criminal division in the early 1990s, says his old boss can be trusted to shoot straight no matter what he uncovers. "If you've done something illegal that's worth prosecuting, he will find it and he will prosecute you," Zeldin says. "But if you've done nothing that's worth prosecuting, he has the strength of character to decline to prosecute you. That's an important characteristic, especially in a special counsel who has a wide mandate."

No one knows what the special counsel will discover, whether his probe will go further up the chain of power or peter out. What Robert Mueller has made abundantly clear already, however, is that whatever its divisions, the United States remains a nation governed by laws. —*With reporting by* MOLLY BALL/WASHINGTON ◻

ALEX WONG—GETTY IMAGES

NO. 5 | THE THREAT

# KIM JONG UN

## NORTH KOREA'S YOUNG DICTATOR TAKES ON THE WORLD

BY NORMAN PEARLSTINE

FOR A LONG TIME, FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE services knew very little about the weird world of North Korea. Occasionally, their seismic monitors would pick up signs of rudimentary nuclear tests deep in the mountains north of the capital, Pyongyang. Or military satellites would detect the launch of missiles, short- and medium-range, many of which either failed spectacularly or hurtled harmlessly into the Pacific Ocean. But for the most part, the outside world was suffering from what Donald Gregg, a former U.S. intelligence officer and diplomat in South Korea, calls "the longest-running failure in the history of American espionage."

In 2017, we learned what we'd been missing. Over the course of the year, Kim

Jong Un, the youthful, totalitarian leader of the pariah state, unveiled an advanced capacity to threaten the American homeland with a nuclear-tipped long-range missile. On July 4, he launched the first of several missiles capable of reaching Los Angeles, Denver and Chicago. In September, he tested what the U.S. believed was a nuclear warhead that would fit on top of one of those missiles; it was more powerful than the bombs the U.S. dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki to end World War II. And in the early-morning dark of Nov. 29, North Korea test-fired a missile capable of reaching Washington, D.C., and New York City. Its arc rose 10 times higher than the International Space Station.

Kim has the world's attention not only because of the threat to the U.S. Henry Kissinger wrote that allowing North Korea to continue with nuclear weapons "will seriously diminish the credibility of the American nuclear umbrella in Asia." The fear—especially after President Donald Trump suggested in his campaign that South Korea and Japan provide for their own defense—is that they will do so by developing nuclear weapons of their own.

**BUT IF THE WORLD** understands that it faces a volatile new threat, much about Kim and his arsenal remain a mystery. And what little we do know, from South Korean sources and published reports, is not reassuring.

In addition to possessing as many as 60 nuclear weapons that are dispersed across the nation on hard-to-track mobile launchers, North Korea also has biological and chemical weapons, including anthrax and sarin gas. Its million-strong army is the fourth largest in the world, and it has trained thousands of rockets and artillery shells on South Korea, whose capital, Seoul, could be rubble within hours. The North has also invested heavily in cyberweapons, hacking computer systems in South Korea, the U.S. and elsewhere.

Of Kim, much that has been published is unconfirmed and in dispute. He may be 33, or 35. He likely attended school in Switzerland, perhaps posing as the son of an employee working at the North Korean embassy in Bern. His health is in question. He is a heavy smoker who may suffer from diabetes or gout. He is morbidly obese, carrying upwards of 300 lb. on a 5-ft. 8-in. frame.

THE REGIME HAS LONG ENCOURAGED NORTH KOREANS TO BELIEVE THE U.S. WILL ATTACK AT ANY TIME

One physical element is an asset: Kim resembles his grandfather Kim Il Sung, the country's founding father and a godlike figure for many North Koreans. The grandson has adopted the look and mannerisms of the first Great Leader, and voices the same desire to control a reunified Korea, by force if necessary.

The Korean Peninsula was one country until 1945, but today the population of the South, at 51 million, is more than twice the North's, and its per capita income 10 to 20 times greater. Two in five North Koreans now have insufficient food, according to the U.N., which in 2014 concluded that Kim's regime had systematically violated human rights and committed crimes against humanity. Its gulag of concentration camps is

PREVIOUS PAGE: AP/SHUTTERSTOCK; THESE PAGES: KCNA/EPA/SHUTTERSTOCK

Kim stands before what state media described as a nuclear warhead for a ballistic missile in March 2016

thought to contain over 100,000 citizens.

For a dynastic leader, Kim does not appear to treasure family. In 2013, less than two years after he assumed power following the death of his father Kim Jong Il, the son ordered the execution of his uncle and nominal regent, Jang Song Thaek. In February, assassins used VX, a lethal nerve agent, to kill Kim's half brother Kim Jong Nam in the lobby of Kuala Lumpur International Airport.

**HOW DO YOU DEAL** with a dictator dead-set on becoming a nuclear power? The Trump Administration appears unsure. Secretary of State Rex Tillerson has pursued quiet, and seemingly ineffectual, diplomacy. Trump has gone his own way, extemporaneously threatening "fire and fury like the world has never seen," while also tweeting an inchoate mix of insults and offers of friendship at Kim. At the U.N., he called him "rocket man."

Kim may find the attention useful. The regime has long encouraged North Koreans to believe the U.S. will attack at any time, recalling the devastation of the Korean War, which began when Kim's grandfather invaded the South and ended with 85% of buildings in the North destroyed by U.S. bombers. A nuclear arsenal is justified as effective deterrent to a new attack.

Briefly, in the 1990s, the North's quest to acquire that arsenal was waylaid by a deal with the Clinton Administration. But Pyongyang resumed the buildup after President George W. Bush declared North Korea part of an "axis of evil" in 2002. And for Kim, personal survival factors in: North Koreans have noted that Libya's Muammar Gaddafi and Iraq's Saddam Hussein were both deposed after surrendering their nuclear programs.

Kim also has geography on his side. Given the cramped quarters of the Korean Peninsula—25 million South Koreans are within artillery range—a U.S. attack could provoke retaliation producing catastrophic civilian deaths even with no use of nuclear weapons. The South's preference for negotiations is grounded in the gauzy ideal of future reunification, an affirming prospect at the human level but not likely soon. The Hermit Kingdom is the last communist nation outside of Cuba, and China sees considerable value in preserving it as a buffer on its northeast border against South Korea and the U.S. troops there.

Given these realities, Trump—no fan of multilateralism—nonetheless has been calling for a group effort, urging the Chinese, Russians, Japanese, South Koreans and anyone else who will listen to help deal with Kim. China has the most influence, and there are signs that it may be increasing enforcement of economic sanctions. But Kim recently gave the cold shoulder to a high level envoy from Beijing, and in the end, China's interests will remain divided.

The U.S. may have no sensible choice but to live with Kim and a nuclear North Korea, while persuading its neighbors that they don't need arsenals of their own. All of which could make the young dictator even more influential in years to come. ☐

THE IDEALIST

NO. 6 | THE IDEALIST

# COLIN KAEPERNICK

THE QUARTERBACK WHO UPENDED THE NFL WITHOUT TAKING A SNAP

BY SEAN GREGORY

COLIN KAEPERNICK LAST PLAYED IN AN NFL game on Jan. 1. But over the past 11 months, he's exerted more influence on American society than any of the stars lighting up television screens on Sundays. A silent protest that began in 2016, when Kaepernick started kneeling during the national anthem to call attention to police brutality and racial injustice, grew into a social movement that highlighted the nation's cultural divide, roiled powerful institutions from the NFL to the White House, and forced us all to grapple with difficult questions about protest, patriotism and free speech—issues many would rather ignore, let alone face as part of their weekend entertainment.

PHOTOGRAPH BY AL MESSERSCHMIDT

As the controversy mushroomed this year, Kaepernick declined to speak about his role, but paid a heavy price for taking on the most popular sport in the U.S. Despite boasting talent and credentials that surpass those of many of the journeymen quarterbacks signed this year, Kaepernick found himself out of work; front offices around the league decided they were better off without the distraction. In October, he filed a collusion grievance against the NFL, arguing that he had been blackballed by its owners. He's set to become the first star athlete since the Vietnam era to lose his career because of his beliefs.

At the same time, he tested our own convictions. The resistance movement he sparked raised issues that split players and fans alike. What's the truer measure of patriotism: standing at attention before a football game, or asking whether the country is living up to the lyrics of "The Star-Spangled Banner," which salute the "land of the free and the home of the brave"? When critics lampoon the activism of multimillionaire athletes, labeling them entitled and ungrateful, are they saying the money players earned through the sacrifice of time and body disqualifies them from free expression? And what does a clash between millions of white NFL fans and many of the African-American players who entertain them say about the state of race relations? How far have we really come?

**ONLY A FEW MONTHS AGO,** the protests seemed destined to fade into a footnote. The NFL season opened with Kaepernick out of the league and just a small group of players demonstrating. Then, on Sept. 22, President Donald Trump grabbed the issue and ran with it like a tailback eyeing an end zone. "Wouldn't you love to see one of these NFL owners, when somebody disrespects our flag, to say, 'Get that son of a bitch off the field right now'?" he said at a political rally in Alabama.

The attack thrilled his white conservative base. But athletes were aghast. Basketball star LeBron James called Trump a "bum." Angered by the President's call to curtail their constitutional rights just weeks after defending the free speech of violent white nationalists in Charlottesville, Va., players responded with the largest demonstration of social activism in U.S. sports history. Nearly 200 players did not stand. Owners called Trump out as well, including the New England Patriots' Bob Kraft, a longtime Trump friend.

The unity was short-lived. Dallas Cowboys owner Jerry Jones, who on Sept. 25 took a knee before the anthem with his players, was soon clamoring for a new rule requiring them to stand. Jones and some other billionaire owners felt that the protests were responsible for the NFL's declining TV ratings. And Trump kept needling the league and its players, bragging that he had asked Vice President Mike Pence to leave an Oct. 8 Indianapolis Colts game after players there took a knee.

The owners met in October and chose not to require players to stand for the anthem. And the NFL endorsed legislation to reduce mandatory-minimum sentences for nonviolent drug offenders, a victory for the activist athletes. "What Kaepernick started really pushed these issues to the forefront," says Philadelphia Eagles safety Malcolm Jenkins, who has lobbied state legislatures on prison reform.

But it was equally clear that many people agreed with Trump. According to an HBO/Marist poll, 47% of Americans thought athletes should be required to stand during the anthem; 51% believed no rule should exist. Many questioned why athletes needed to broadcast their message at a moment traditionally reserved for saluting the flag and the military that protects it. David McCraw, owner of the Palmetto Restaurant and Ale House in Greenville, S.C., stopped showing NFL games in September in his own protest, then says he watched business rise 20% the following month. A Savannah, Ga.–based company called Nine Line Apparel has sold more than 30,000 I STAND FOR OUR NATIONAL ANTHEM shirts since the protests began. "They will never understand what it's like to lose a friend overseas, carry him back home with a flag draped over his casket, and hand that flag over to his child," says CEO Tyler Merritt, an Army veteran. "They are acting out of ignorance."

On the other side of the divide, Golden State Warriors coach Steve Kerr says Kaepernick and his fellow athletes should be considered patriots. Their goal, after all, is to build a better, more equitable nation. "Where's your heart? Where's your compassion?" asks Kerr. "Whatever side of the Kaepernick issue you're on, if you're

Protesters rally in support of Kaepernick outside of Detroit's Ford Field on Sept. 10

helping your fellow man, that's the most important thing."

The activist athletes insist that they respect the military and say they chose the anthem to protest because discomfort draws eyeballs. "Colin's trying to reach the far ends of this world," says John Carlos, a former track-and-field star whose famed black-power salute at the 1968 Olympics prompted a similar backlash. "I could have gone to Central Park and did it, but it never would have received the acknowledgment and created the conversation."

By his measure, Kaepernick's protest has thrived. The artist Common, who in May spoke at Kaepernick's "Know Your Rights" camp for kids—created to teach at-risk youth lessons on education, self-empowerment and engaging with police officers—spotted Kaepernick jerseys at his October concert in South Africa. "They were like, 'Man, I don't know how your country would think that talking about equality is wrong,'" he recalls. Jay-Z wore a Kaepernick jersey on the season premiere of *Saturday Night Live*. Young fans dressed as the quarterback for Halloween, while some older ones mocked him with racist costumes.

As Kaepernick continues to train, hoping for another shot at the game that first made him famous, others with no connection to the NFL have taken up his protest. Members of a high school cheerleading team in Michigan knelt during the anthem before a game. Gyree Durante, who played quarterback for Albright College in Reading, Pa., defied a team decision to stand. He was booted off the team but says he has no regrets. "Kaepernick showed me, and others around the country, to fight for what you believe in," says Durante. "Don't back down." Chuck Warpehoski joined three other members of the Ann Arbor, Mich., city council in kneeling during the Pledge of Allegiance at the start of a meeting. "Most of the people who took the time to call me," he recalls, "were there to tell me to burn in hell."

**KAEPERNICK, MEANWHILE,** has floated above the fray. But he's close to fulfilling a pledge to donate $1 million to community organizations and charities. Muhibb Dyer, co-founder of the I Will Not Die Young campaign in Milwaukee, used part of his $25,000 donation from Kaepernick to buy a casket he uses as a warning prop while addressing high school students. "Colin should be celebrated," says Dyer. "His protest has never been about the flag. Human beings are losing their lives. That's the point of it all."

Representative John Lewis, who helped lead the 1965 Alabama march from Selma to Montgomery that devolved into the "Bloody Sunday" beatings of nonviolent protesters, likens Kaepernick's leadership to that of civil rights icons like himself. "There are individuals who come along from time to time, they have what I call an executive session with themselves," says Lewis. "He has a sense that this is the right thing to do, right now. For some, it's almost a calling."

Kaepernick is an imperfect figurehead for a movement designed to raise social consciousness. He's worn socks depicting police officers as pigs and refused to vote in the 2016 presidential election. But he isn't trying to win a popularity contest. After all, he took a stance that cost him his career. "He's the Muhammad Ali of this generation," says Harry Edwards, a University of California, Berkeley, sociologist who organized the 1968 Olympic protest and has advised Kaepernick. "I'm not worried about Colin. I'm more worried about the rest of us." —*With reporting by* ALANA ABRAMSON/NEW YORK ◻

PREVIOUS PAGES: AP; THIS PAGE: JOSE JUAREZ—AP/SHUTTERSTOCK

2017 *TIME* DEALER OF THE YEAR AWARD WINNER CARL SWOPE WITH MEREDITH LONG, SVP & GM, NEWS & LUXURY, TIME INC., AND TIM RUSSI, PRESIDENT OF AUTO FINANCE, ALLY FINANCIAL

# ENGINE FOR GOOD

By creating jobs, saving people money and giving back to the community, American new-car dealerships are a big driver of the local economy.

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"For many of us, it's not just work; it's a family legacy," says Mark Scarpelli, 2017 chairman of the National Automobile Dealers Association. "And when you have pride like that, you produce high-quality work, you maintain great integrity and you do what's best for your customers—your neighbors."

When dealers compete against each other, it saves consumers more than $500 on average, which isn't the case when car manufacturers sell straight to buyers. "The greatest advantage of a locally owned and operated dealership is that customers benefit from the savings," says Scarpelli, who is president of Raymond Chevrolet and Raymond Kia in Antioch, Ill. "Fierce competition among America's franchised auto dealers benefits car buyers by driving down retail costs on both vehicle prices and financing rates. When local dealers compete for business, the customers always win. It's inherent in our franchise model."

The local community also wins, thanks to job creation, tax revenue and philanthropic endeavors. As a group, auto dealers contribute millions of dollars to local charities such as hospitals, youth and arts programs, and disaster relief each year. The TIME Dealer of the Year Award, called the most prestigious honor a new-car dealer can receive, is awarded to a dealer who has achieved excellence in both community support and business success. One of the largest providers of automotive financing, Ally Financial, sponsors the award.

"We salute the exceptional group of nominees for the 2018 TIME Dealer of the Year Award," says Tim Russi, Ally's president of auto finance. "Dealers often are pillars of strength and giving in their communities, and Ally is proud to recognize these dealers for their many important contributions."

Ally also assists dealers by supporting their charitable causes and creating tools and services that help them achieve their business goals, including financing solutions, a leading online remarketing tool and in-dealership training programs, just to name a few. Additionally, working directly with dealers to provide retail contracts to consumers, Ally financed one vehicle every 24 seconds in 2016.

"We are dedicated to being an ally for dealers and tirelessly working to provide them with services and products that will help them grow and build their businesses," says Russi. "Auto dealers understand their communities and their customers' needs. We are proud to work with them and recognize them for all they do."

2017 *TIME* DEALER OF THE YEAR WINNER CARL SWOPE AT SWOPE TOYOTA IN ELIZABETHTOWN, KENTUCKY

PHOTOS BY: TOP, RON BLAND; BOTTOM, BOBBY ELLIS; ALL REFERENCED TRADEMARKS ARE THE PROPERTIES OF THEIR RESPECTIVE OWNERS

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NO. 7 | THE TRAILBLAZER

# PATTY JENKINS

THE DIRECTOR REDEFINING HOW THE WORLD SEES WOMEN

BY BELINDA LUSCOMBE

THE FIRST MAN WONDER WOMAN EVER sees, at least in the record-setting movie version of her story, is a fighter pilot. He crashes, she saves him, and that sets in motion her departure from the safe all-female island she grew up on. The first man director Patty Jenkins ever saw was also a fighter pilot: her father William Jenkins. He also crashed, during a combat-training exercise when Patty was 7 years old. He was not saved, and she grew up in her own tribe of Amazons—with her feminist mother and two sisters.

The parallels between the director and the subject of the most lucrative superhero origin story in history don't end there. Jenkins is also related to a god: in her case, it's acting deity Richard Burton,

PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL BUCKNER

her father's second cousin. She's not afraid to travel at speed: she excels at both in-line speed skating and downhill skiing. And crucially, both she and Diana Prince, Wonder Woman's alter ego, see the world as a place where women take for granted that they have the power to fight back. They grew up more or less innocent of the fact that it could be otherwise.

We cannot be what we cannot see, as the saying goes, and in *Wonder Woman,* Jenkins created a universe in which an ambitious, strong and, yes, aggressive woman could be admired and followed. She could challenge men who had done wrong and win. Other men would even take her side, because she was right.

Jenkins' timing was fateful. She offered up her portrait of a woman during a real-world year bookended by the defeat of America's first mainstream female presidential candidate and the beginning of a revolution against sexual harassment.

But *Wonder Woman* is more than a timely symbol. "So often superhero victories are obvious," Jenkins says in an interview with TIME. "There's a bad guy. He's going to kill people. O.K., fine." But when Diana Prince first becomes Wonder Woman, she does so to end a pointless, entrenched battle. Says Jenkins: "It was much more symbolic of 'I say no to what you all are doing, how you all are living your life. I still love you. I'm still engaged with you. I still understand it's complicated. But I say no to this. To shooting people from afar who you cannot see, I say no.'"

Jenkins' grasp of the many tones the story needed—war movie, fantasy, period piece, love story and goddess-out-of-water comedy—made her film admired by critics, and adored by audiences. *Wonder Woman* exceeded box-office expectations, raking in more than $800 million worldwide. No woman has ever directed a more successful live-action film. And with the coming sequel in late 2019, no female director will ever have scored a bigger paycheck.

Then there was the cultural impact: everyone from Oprah to Christian authors to left-leaning feminists implored audiences to see the film. *Wonder Woman*'s star, Israeli actor Gal Gadot, became a global phenomenon. Google declared the iconic bustier and tiara costume the most popular one of Halloween.

**BECAUSE SHE IS NOW** such a powerhouse, it's easy to forget that the 1941 comic-book character was long considered almost impossible to bring to the screen. Wonder Woman was sincere and old-timey. Her weapons—bracelets, a lasso—seemed quaint. Directors didn't know how to deal with an action figure who represents love. There was a challenge in making her alluring without objectifying her. No wonder the film landscape was littered with the carcasses of female superheroes. Supergirl, Catwoman and Elektra, when asked to carry a movie, had been unable to withstand their nemesis: indifference.

The missing link that Jenkins provided was this: don't focus on proving how strong your heroine is. Female superheroes are often one-dimensional, Jenkins says, "out of fear that adding any other dimension makes them weak."

She decided to take Wonder Woman's physical superiority as a given—she is, after all, a goddess—and instead played up her more relatable quirks and desires, her naivete and her growth. Then she hired elite athletes, rather than models, to play the Amazonians and sent everyone to six months of boot camp.

This may seem like an obvious approach, yet Jenkins says she was surprised by how many women told her they wept when they saw the scene in which the Amazonians repel heavily armed men from Themiscyra simply because they are better fighters. "It is aggression from a woman's point of view, which women do feel," says Jenkins, "but we haven't seen demonstrated on the screen that much."

Of course, Wonder Woman isn't the only blockbuster heroine in recent years. As Melissa Silverstein, founder and pub-

'LUCKILY, THE FIELD IS WIDE OPEN WITH FEMALE CHARACTERS, BECAUSE THERE HAVE BEEN SO FEW.'

—PATTY JENKINS

Gadot was cast before Jenkins was hired, which at first worried the director. But soon, she felt lucky

lisher of the site Women and Hollywood puts it, "There would be no *Wonder Woman* without *The Hunger Games,* and there would be no *Hunger Games* without *Twilight.*" But she's the first protagonist to ascend out of the young-adult genre to the C-suite of superheroes.

And Jenkins had everything to do with enabling a female hero to make that leap. She has what in a guy would be called balls. This is a woman who took her pet pit bull to art school with her, who skis black diamonds, who was knocked over by a speeding car when Rollerblading in Los Angeles but still skates. This, most of all, is a woman who for her first feature, *Monster,* chose to strip Charlize Theron of her most distracting power, beauty, to allow her to display her real gift, acting. Theron won an Oscar for the role. That was also an early hint of how clearly Jenkins could see past gender. "I am actually just making movies about people," the director says. "Luckily, the field is wide open with female characters, because there have been so few."

**JENKINS ASCRIBES** her confidence to her mother, who raised her and her sisters alone after her father died. She studied at Cooper Union, which is better known for producing artists and architects than blockbuster directors. She spent nearly a decade as a camera operator on commercial and music-video shoots, where there was less a call for artistry and more one for collaboration and a strong work ethic.

That background affects how Jenkins runs her ship. She's the leader who's getting up earlier and putting in the most energy. In person, she's more like a relentlessly positive coach than an auteur—she loves what you do but thinks you could be 20% better. She's even upbeat about the current uproar over harassment in her industry. "This is a shuddering that is shaking us all very hard and definitely has a lot of worrisome potential," she says. "But I think it's necessary that it be so extreme in order to come up with real change."

In her decade working as one of the only female camera operators on shoots, she was just one of the gang. But when she moved to Hollywood, she says, the tone of her interactions with men changed. "The second I wanted to be a director," Jenkins says, "there were constant flirtations and inappropriate overtures and requests to have meetings in weird places."

Not that she didn't have positive interactions, even with people whose behavior would later come under scrutiny. In fact, she presented producer-director Brett Ratner, an early mentor and financial supporter, with an award two days before the Los Angeles *Times* reported that six women had accused him of sexual misconduct. Her experience of him was that he was a flirt, "but none of us ever saw him force himself on anybody in any way," she says. "It was extremely troubling when these other stories came out." She has not spoken to him since.

Jenkins has never had a problem with the idea that the same person can be many things, both good and bad, strong and nurturing, evil and misunderstood, supportive and inappropriate. That's the through line that connects *Monster,* about a serial killer, and *Wonder Woman,* about a savior. There are more important events in any given year than the striking rebirth of a superhero. But *Wonder Woman* gave form, narrative and credence to the idea that women can win. ◻

PREVIOUS PAGE: DEADLINE/SHUTTERSTOCK; THESE PAGES: CLAY ENOS—WARNER BROS.

# THE BEST OF CULTURE

2017 ▸ MOVIES | TELEVISION | MUSIC | BOOKS | THEATER

**Timothée Chalamet and Armie Hammer are luminous in *Call Me by Your Name***

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARIO SORRENTI

ART PARTNER

# MOVIES

THE 10 BEST MOVIES
BY STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

## 1. THE POST

Steven Spielberg was finishing another movie when producer Amy Pascal sent him a script by an unknown writer named Liz Hannah about the Washington *Post*'s risky 1971 decision to publish the Pentagon Papers. The movie Spielberg made from that script, completed in less than a year, is both rapturously entertaining and pointedly topical. Meryl Streep and Tom Hanks are marvelous as *Post* publisher Katharine Graham and executive editor Ben Bradlee, who put their paper and their careers on the line to strike a victory for freedom of the press. This movie's belief in the power of journalism is a head rush. There is no more galvanizing, or more important, film this year.

## 2. LADY BIRD

This smart, joyous, tender film about an out-of-sorts teenager (a superb Saoirse Ronan) growing up in Sacramento circa the early 2000s isn't actually writer-director Greta Gerwig's debut. But its openness about the anxieties of growing up with no money and an extremely complicated mother (Laurie Metcalf) makes it feel like the arrival of a bright new voice. Sometimes you've got to run away from home to get there.

## 3. THE LOST CITY OF Z

Adapted from David Grann's 2009 best seller, James Gray's resplendent, symphonic adventure tells the story of real-life British explorer Percy Fawcett (Charlie Hunnam), who devoted his life to locating a mythical lost city in the Amazon. A gorgeous and passionately crafted picture, it captures the wonders and horrors of one man's obsession, a mysterious mirror-world Eden. Films with this kind of grand sweep and dreamy energy don't come along every day. *The Lost City of Z* is itself a message in a bottle, a missive from a lost city of movies.

## 4. PERSONAL SHOPPER

A glorious Kristen Stewart plays an American living in Paris, working at a job she hates and desperate to communicate with her recently deceased twin brother. Olivier Assayas' alluring modern ghost story is genuinely spooky but also poetic, a meditation on the membrane between the worlds of the living and the dead, and on grief as a portal between the two.

## 5. KEDI

Is Ceyda Torun's delightful and visually splendid *Kedi* a documentary about Istanbul with cats or a documentary about cats that happens to be set in Istanbul? There's no need to make the distinction. In all great cities, the magnificent intersects with the mundane—that's what makes them vital—and Torun captures that idea in a movie that breezes along like a silky purr.

## 6. CALL ME BY YOUR NAME

A precocious 17-year-old kid (Timothée Chalamet) is ready for a boring summer at his family's Italian villa. Then a casually presumptive American guest (Armie Hammer) shows up. What unfolds between them is, in director Luca Guadagnino's hands, a kind of languorous hypnotism, a meeting of the carnal and the spiritual that's both dreamlike and dazzling in its tender physicality. The whole movie is a rapturous, bittersweet seduction. To fall into its arms is bliss.

## 7. DUNKIRK

Christopher Nolan's ambitious fictional drama, set against the events of Operation Dynamo, is a grand spectacle, not an empty one—a rare example of the Hollywood blockbuster dollar well spent. Nolan sustains *Dunkirk*'s dramatic tension beautifully from start to finish. This is a supreme achievement made from small strokes, a kind of Seurat painting constructed with dark, glittering bits of history.

## 8. FACES PLACES

In this effervescent documentary, the revered 89-year-old Belgian-born filmmaker Agnès Varda teams with the 34-year-old French street artist JR: they tootle through the French countryside in JR's truck, a roving mini portrait studio outfitted to process and print very large pictures. The result is a wondrous, vigorous work that connects people with the landscape they inhabit—and carves out a small place in that landscape for the artist too.

## 9. GET OUT

In Jordan Peele's creepy-smart and bitterly funny directorial debut, a white woman (Allison Williams) brings her black boyfriend (Daniel Kaluuya) home to meet the folks, where they accept him warmly—a little too warmly. Peele succeeds where even more experienced filmmakers sometimes fail: he's made an agile entertainment whose social and cultural observations are woven so tightly into the fabric that you're laughing even as you're thinking, and vice versa.

## 10. GIRLS TRIP

A good comedy is one of life's great pleasures, and Malcolm D. Lee's *Girls Trip*—raunchy, buoyant and powered by a terrific cast, including Queen Latifah and Tiffany Haddish—was one of the sweetest surprises of the summer. A bunch of old friends reunite for a weekend of partying and debauchery. Through it all, they laugh, scream and mime unbelievably dirty sex acts. But this is a rare girls'-night-out comedy that doesn't leave you feeling depleted or insulted. Instead of depressing self-debasement, the mood is one of sublime joy and catharsis.

▸ Ronan plays a perpetually disgruntled Sacramento teen in *Lady Bird*

TRUNK ARCHIVE



PHOTOGRAPH BY PETER HAPAK FOR TIME

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# PERFORMANCES

THE 10 BEST PERFORMANCES BY STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

### 1. SAOIRSE RONAN

In Greta Gerwig's bittersweet coming-of-age comedy *Lady Bird,* Ronan plays Christine, a Sacramento teenager who's had it with everything: her complex, cranky mother; her low-on-the-totem-pole social status; her really-not-so-bad Catholic school. But as Ronan plays her, you feel for Christine every minute, even when she's being totally impossible. Beneath all that free-radical exasperation, her face is radiant, open and alive.

### 2. TIMOTHÉE CHALAMET

When, exactly, does adolescence flip to adulthood? The moment is as fleeting as the silvery flash of a minnow. Yet it's that moment that Luca Guadagnino captures in his lush, ardent coming-of-age romance *Call Me by Your Name,* and Chalamet, one of his two lead actors, gives that almost inexpressible point of passage a human face. As 17-year-old Elio, Chalamet is equal parts youthful guilelessness and premature masculine swagger, as if he were just trying adulthood on for size, not yet sure he wants to commit. It's a lovely performance, as casually intense as a light summer sunburn.

### 3. ARMIE HAMMER

In *Call Me by Your Name,* Hammer's Oliver is the casual American summer visitor who throws Timothée Chalamet's Elio for a loop. Lanky and confident, with a Pepsodent smile, he's part rakish paramour, part free-spirited escape artist. Yet Hammer signals Oliver's veiled vulnerability beautifully. Even though he's older and presumably wiser than Elio, you suspect that of the two, he's the one who will end up suffering more for love. You never catch him brooding, but that doesn't mean he's not hurting.

### 4. WILLEM DAFOE

As the long-suffering motel manager Bobby in Sean Baker's *The Florida Project,* Dafoe—driven near crazy by the residents of the property he tends, especially Brooklynn Prince's pint-size scamp Moonee—projects an aura of careworn grace. When he cracks a crabby, reluctant smile, it's as if the heavens had opened.

### 5. LAURIE METCALF

Being the mom who's mostly responsible for holding a family together often means being the killjoy. And that's the job of Metcalf's Marion in *Lady Bird:* she's the one who always counts the money, and the one who always has to say no. Metcalf, a longtime theater actor who may be best known for her role on TV's *Roseanne,* shows us the sense of isolation behind Marion's thorniness—and how much she'd prefer to say yes.

### 6. LOIS SMITH

Smith gives us two terrific performances this year. In Michael Almereyda's *Marjorie Prime,* she's a widow with dementia who pieces bits of her life together in her last days by quizzing her husband (Jon Hamm), an artificial-intelligence creation; her eyes' misty glow reminds us that the things we've forgotten are as much a part of us as those we remember. And in Greta Gerwig's *Lady Bird,* she's pure delight as a radiant, generous nun with a great sense of humor. With her as his bride, Jesus is one lucky guy.

### 7. TIFFANY HADDISH

Comedian Haddish—from *The Carmichael Show* and *Keanu*—is Dina, the wildest girl of all in Malcolm D. Lee's *Girls Trip,* and the one you'd most like to hang with. Her smile is as cheerful as a spilled bag of Skittles, but it's delightfully naughty too. She elevates go-for-broke raunchiness to an art form.

### 7. MILLICENT SIMMONDS

In Todd Haynes' radiant and sweet *Wonderstruck,* Simmonds plays Rose, a 12-year-old deaf girl living in Hoboken, N.J., in 1927. Simmonds is deaf herself, and to watch her face—to see how, as Rose, she virtually breathes in the world around her, as if sounds and visuals were color values you could absorb into your very being—is to step over a border you perhaps didn't even know existed.

### 9. BOB ODENKIRK

Although journalists are often heroic figures in the movies, they're rarely very glamorous in real life. In Steven Spielberg's *The Post,* Odenkirk, as Washington *Post* journalist Ben Bagdikian, captures that valiant ordinariness perfectly. Even his vaguely stooped carriage says, "Just get the story"—and when he does, you feel nothing but joy.

### 10. MERYL STREEP

There's both flinty resolve and sly, whisker-licking humor in Streep's portrayal of Washington *Post* publisher Katharine Graham in *The Post.* Graham, who suddenly found herself having to learn how to play hardball in a man's world, was a woman both of her time and ahead of her time. Streep captures the complexity of that dance, with every ladylike step and shrewd sidelong glance.

# TELEVISION

THE 10 BEST SHOWS
BY DANIEL D'ADDARIO

### 1. BETTER THINGS, *FX*

There's something elemental about *Better Things.* Its protagonist Sam—played by Pamela Adlon, the show's co-creator, who directed every episode of the second season—is exhausted by being a single mother, a woman trying to keep an acting career going after 40, a person. Sometimes she lashes out; sometimes she just sits and thinks, but she is mesmerizingly alive throughout. The organizing events of contemporary American life—parenting, finding love, settling into a career—have for Sam, as for so many, come with no small share of angst. That Adlon illuminates this story, somehow makes it funny and shoots it through with hope and love makes *Better Things* TV's very best show in, and for, a challenging year.

### 2. BIG LITTLE LIES, *HBO*

This miniseries came into focus as a raw look at the dynamics of power: how it's taken from women by men who purport to love them, and how it's reclaimed through the radical choice to collaborate rather than compete. As a spousal-abuse victim, Nicole Kidman showed her willingness to push into human darkness; a cast including Reese Witherspoon and Laura Dern brought life to emotions difficult to talk about—like the pleasure of helping others, and allowing oneself to be helped too.

### 3. THE LEFTOVERS, *HBO*

In its third and final season, this show about grief bloomed. Carrie Coon, as a woman lost in mourning her family, found further astounding notes to hit, culminating in an all-timer of a finale. *The Leftovers'* world gone mad suited our moment; its empathy became an unlikely solace.

### 4. FEUD: BETTE AND JOAN, *FX*

Ryan Murphy's vivid scrawl in the margins of pop history depicts Bette Davis (Susan Sarandon) and Joan Crawford (Jessica Lange) butting heads on the set of the film *What Ever Happened to Baby Jane?* The bickering is instigated by many forces, including Hollywood men conspiring to keep both stars down. Psychologically acute, *Feud* is a powerful statement about entrenched misogyny that gives both icons their humanity back.

### 5. INSECURE, *HBO*

In its second season, *Insecure* hit a new level. The show follows Issa (show co-creator Issa Rae), whose every seemingly good choice, at work or in love, is followed by the realization she's erred badly. Rae stages her gifted ensemble's dramas and laughs of consolation in Inglewood, a city within Los Angeles facing the threat of gentrification. *Insecure* is both pause-and-rewind-it hilarious and a show with a great deal on its mind.

### 6. ALIAS GRACE, *NETFLIX*

The second adaptation of a Margaret Atwood novel on TV this year after *The Handmaid's Tale,* this miniseries was dazzlingly capacious. Grace (Sarah Gadon) is in prison after a murder in 1843 Ontario. But questioned by a psychiatrist, she has the power. Once a servant, Grace is all too aware of being watched—she enters a new alias by shifting her jaw or gaze. *Alias Grace* finds the heart of its protagonist—and the complex relevance of her case.

### 7. I LOVE DICK, *AMAZON*

Chris Kraus (Kathryn Hahn) is trapped by inertia in a lustless marriage. After meeting sculptor Dick (Kevin Bacon), she comes alive once more, in part because he doesn't respect her. The unresolvable debate between mind and body rages. Messily literary, *I Love Dick* fascinates as it asks a crucial question: Why do we want what we want?

### 8. MINDHUNTER, *NETFLIX*

Style and substance abound in director David Fincher's latest look into evil. Depicting the early use of psychological profiling in the 1970s FBI, *Mindhunter* is something new: a show that respects criminals enough to treat them as more than just perps. This is as sharply intriguing, and as fun, as procedural TV gets.

### 9. WITNESS WORLD WIDE, *YOUTUBE*

Pop star Katy Perry's four-day livestream—during which she lived in a camera-rigged house—was meant to promote a new album. But instead, Perry made provocative, if often unintentional, points about living in a hypermediated age. Perry's self-examination made TV perfect for a moment when so many are trying to find a new narrative to suit a changing world, and the format fit an era in which access to stars' every thought is a fiercely defended right.

### 10. THE DEUCE, *HBO*

On this exploration of the sex trade in 1970s New York City, all the players are fully human, including sex workers with relationships transactional but real. As one such worker, Maggie Gyllenhaal shines with alternating melancholy and ambition; elsewhere, barkeeps (including James Franco in a dual role), pimps, vice cops and newly liberated gay men have parts to play. The story expands to show how desire and the economy have shaped one another, and the fantasy and real lives of Americans.

▸ In the finale of *The Leftovers,* Coon told a haunting story about finding her place in the world

PHOTOGRAPH BY JUSTIN BETTMAN

# MUSIC

THE 10 BEST ALBUMS BY RAISA BRUNER

**1. CTRL,** *SZA*

From relative obscurity, New Jersey artist SZA (pronounced like the cutting tool) rose to prominence with witty songs marked by gorgeously sparse R&B production and ironclad melodies; there's a reason stars like collaborator Rihanna and labelmate Kendrick Lamar are fans. Her takes on hookup culture and the pursuit of an authentic life are vividly articulated too. As with all the best artists, her experience is so specific that it rises to the level of universality: she may be one of a kind, but she's speaking the truth of a whole generation.

**2. DAMN.,** *KENDRICK LAMAR*

California rapper Lamar came through with the most scathing—and necessary—hip-hop of the year on the insistent, incisive *DAMN.* "Humble.," the album's biggest hit, is raw and repetitive, but that minimalism is what sets Lamar apart; he doesn't need gimmicks to elevate the power of his art. With blistering social commentary and deep introspection, Lamar harnessed his remarkable energy into songs that struck a chord with his biggest audience yet, earning *DAMN.* double-platinum status and top Grammy nods.

**3. NO SHAPE,** *PERFUME GENIUS*

Perfume Genius has always been an indie favorite, but on *No Shape,* the Pacific Northwest musician moves past outright darkness, finding shiny melodies and pouring out feeling in his nimble falsetto. He explores queer identity and tests sonic boundaries with experimental compositions, but there's more than just sadness here—there's a lot of love, surprising and delicate.

**4. AMERICAN TEEN,** *KHALID*

If anything sums up the youth culture of the year in sonic form, it's Texan breakout singer Khalid. His sound is buoyant but relaxed alt-R&B, musing on the joys and pitfalls of first love, tech-fueled communication and dealing with parents. On *American Teen,* Khalid proves himself thoughtful and self-aware beyond his 19 years.

**5. MELODRAMA,** *LORDE*

Three years after her precocious debut album and its viral hit "Royals," the dreamy New Zealander Lorde returned with a more grownup perspective on *Melodrama,* a textured and stirring document of self-exploration. At times lush and wild, at times confessional and contained, it maps a deeply felt journey to early adulthood, complete with growing pains and poignant lessons.

**6. HARRY STYLES,** *HARRY STYLES*

Styles was the de facto front man of One Direction, the boy band that launched him to stardom, and his self-titled solo debut proves him capable of standing alone. Inspired by glam-rock superstars like David Bowie and Queen, *Harry Styles* is vibrant, spunky and soulful. Styles pivots effortlessly from sweet balladry ("Meet Me in the Hallway") to straightforward rock ("Kiwi"), succeeding across the spectrum. This album isn't crowded with guest features or on trend; instead, it's a swingingly retro sound.

**7. RAINBOW,** *KESHA*

As a late-aughts pop star, Kesha was the life of the party. But after a protracted legal battle with her producer Dr. Luke—whom she accused of sexual assault and harassment—she's returned as a fine songwriter, clear-eyed and playful. Lead single "Praying" is a wrenching paean to self-love, the sparkly "Spaceship" is a psychedelic journey through the universe, and rollicking rock jam "Woman" proves that it's her party now.

**8. I SEE YOU,** *THE XX*

The xx is a British group known for coolly restrained alt-pop, and on *I See You* they explore musical territory that's warmer and richer than before. Though their sound is as moody as ever, their voices are brought to the fore—as on the lovely "On Hold," with its bright beat and ambiguous sentiment. There's no act better equipped to chart the intersections of happiness and melancholy.

**9. REPUTATION,** *TAYLOR SWIFT*

A lot was at stake on Swift's hotly anticipated sixth studio album, which she suggested would be edgier than the superstar's previous fare. But *Reputation* turned out to be surprisingly relatable: an investigation of what it means to be vulnerable in love, placed in the context of a scrutinizing public. Swift shines in quiet moments of introspection, providing a peek into the world of an artist for whom fame is a double-edged sword. "Delicate" sees her at her most winningly anxious, while "New Year's Day" is as haunting a ballad as any she's made. Throughout, *Reputation* ties in many of radio's current favorite sonic trends, from gospel-EDM to soft trap and '80s layers. The result feels intimate—even though it's the best-selling album of the year.

**10. AMERICAN DREAM,** *LCD SOUNDSYSTEM*

LCD Soundsystem earned a cult following throughout the '00s, thanks to their dry humor and lo-fi production—until band mastermind James Murphy announced the project's retirement in 2011, even playing a hyped farewell show in New York. But the group came back this year for a reunion record that's both tongue in cheek and confessional. There's sorrow, disdain and reckoning, as on the '80s-leaning synth-pop of the sweet "Oh Baby" and meditative nine-minute chant of "How Do You Sleep?" *American Dream* proves some acts are better together.

▸Lamar has called breakout artist SZA's album *Ctrl* a "masterpiece"



PHOTOGRAPH BY RAMONA ROSALES

Curl

# BOOKS

THE 10 BEST NOVELS BY SARAH BEGLEY

**1. SING, UNBURIED, SING,** *JESMYN WARD*

Ward's third book set in the fictional town of Bois Sauvage, based on her hometown of DeLisle, Miss., conjures the same raw emotion of her previous works, like the Hurricane Katrina novel *Salvage the Bones.* But this time, a sense of magical realism deepens the ghostly sense of the past reaching out to touch—or even strangle—the present. Ward's novel is a true triple threat, expert in prose, human observation and social commentary.

**2. WHITE TEARS,** *HARI KUNZRU*

The British novelist skewers American culture in this treatise on whiteness and cultural appropriation. Two young white men breaking into the music industry find success when they record random noises in a New York City park and discover the voice of a man who wasn't there. They pass the recording off as a rediscovered blues song—only to learn their lie may be accidentally based in reality. The hunt for the truth takes them on an unnerving journey through the past.

**3. TRANSIT,** *RACHEL CUSK*

Cusk's second novel in a planned trilogy goes minimal on plot, maximal on observation. The plot structure in the book is the renovation of the narrator's London flat, and the spirit of transformation is mirrored in her conversations: with her contractors, her friends, her old flame. Through elegant meditations on contemporary life, Cusk's depiction of her narrator is not so much a portrait as a photo negative—mysterious, poetic and in contrast to her world.

**4. MANHATTAN BEACH,** *JENNIFER EGAN*

The Pulitzer Prize winner's new novel, seven years after *A Visit From the Goon Squad,* marks a move away from the experimental. This is a straight historical novel, set mainly during World War II. The book's heroine, Anna Kerrigan, is a character perfectly calibrated for Hollywood, with verve, vulnerability and a gritty glamour. (Indeed, Scott Rudin is developing the best seller for film.) Those qualities carry Anna through her work as the first female diver to work on warships and her nights out at gangster-filled nightclubs.

**5. LINCOLN IN THE BARDO,** *GEORGE SAUNDERS*

In his first full novel, Saunders has gained an even wider audience, winning the 2017 Man Booker Prize for this historical ghost story about Abraham Lincoln. The night after his young son is buried, as the Civil War rages, the President visits the cemetery for a final farewell, only to be observed by a ragtag cast of souls who can't bring themselves to leave their earthly remains behind.

**6. EXIT WEST,** *MOHSIN HAMID*

Hamid tells the story of a couple whose love story begins just as war breaks out in their city, which is unnamed but resembles Lahore, Pakistan. The only path to safety is through a series of enchanted doors that lead them, and a surge of other refugees from around the world, to Western cities where they face new threats from the residents who'd prefer these migrants went back to where they came from.

**7. THE CHANGELING,** *VICTOR LAVALLE*

The myth of the bad mom gets the horror-story treatment in this novel, which takes place deep in the boroughs of New York City. Apollo Kagwa and his wife Emma Valentine are thrilled to welcome their first child, but soon after his birth, Emma feels a strange distance from her son—is this the boy she birthed or some sinister impostor? The story cleverly interrogates parenting norms, racial prejudice and technological quandaries.

**8. THE NINTH HOUR,** *ALICE MCDERMOTT*

The Little Nursing Sisters of the Sick Poor meet Annie at her lowest point: she's pregnant, and her husband has just committed suicide. With help from the nuns, Annie and her daughter are spared destitution—but the intervention has ramifications that echo through generations. McDermott offers up a version of sisterhood that's both historical and relevant.

**9. DAYS WITHOUT END,** *SEBASTIAN BARRY*

In this riff on the American frontier genre, narrator Thomas McNulty and his sweetheart John Cole live through a series of trials: performing as women in a saloon, fighting in the Indian and Civil Wars, escaping random attacks in the postbellum South and avoiding being caught as gay lovers. Their story is both simple and strikingly choreographed.

**10. NEW PEOPLE,** *DANZY SENNA*

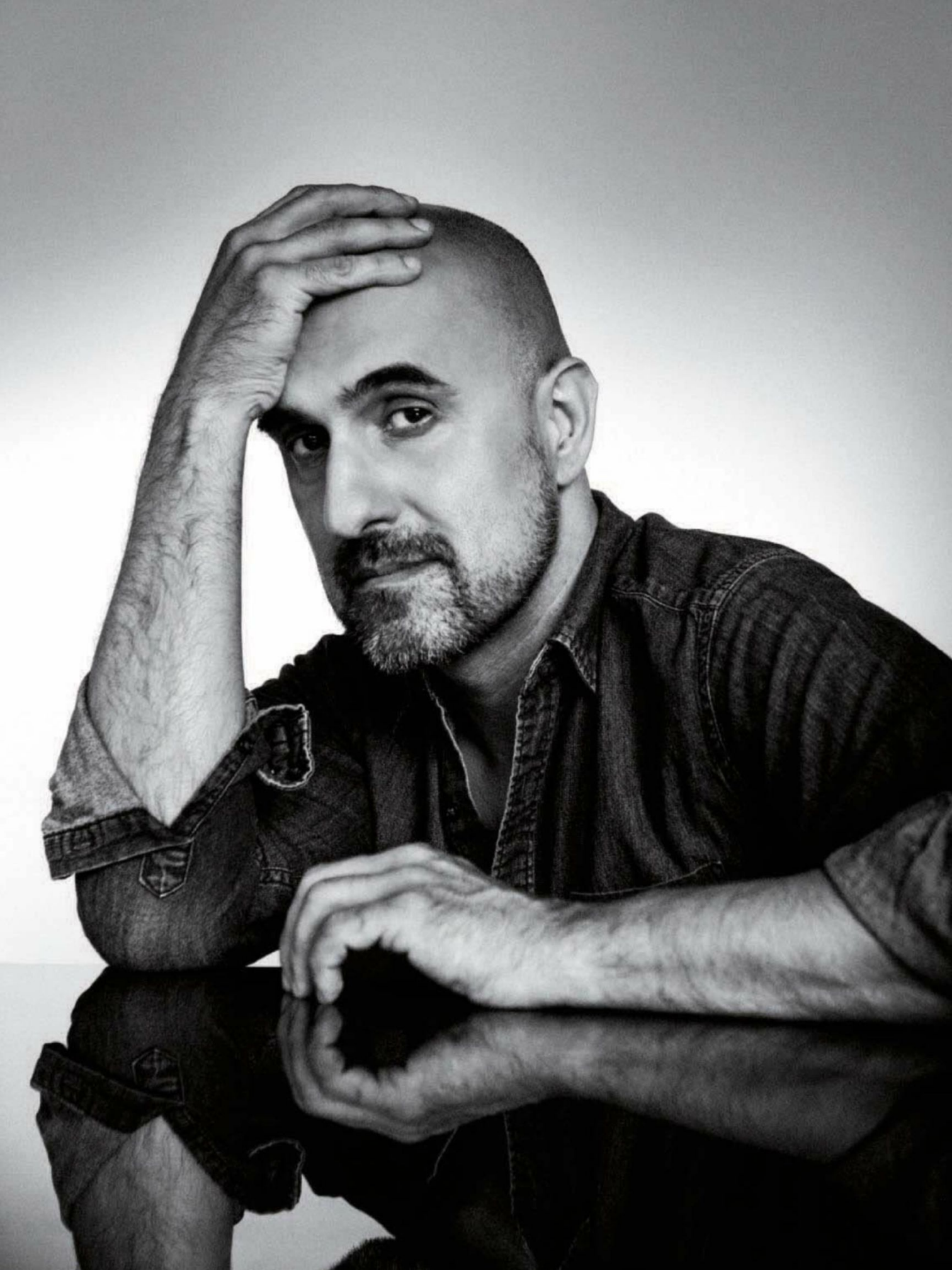
Senna's latest racial satire focuses on a couple, Khalil and Maria, who are grappling with complicated feelings about their own multiracial identities. With humor, understanding and a touch of sympathy, Senna's novel is both knowing and biting.

*For more of our favorite books, visit* **time.com/bestbooks2017**

▸ Kunzru's *White Tears* explores American racism through the lens of music



PHOTOGRAPH BY CLAYTON CUBITT



# BOOKS

THE 10 BEST NONFICTION BOOKS

BY CLAIRE HOWORTH

**1. WHAT HAPPENED,** *HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON*

Clinton offers one answer to the question that rang collectively from more than 65 million voters on Nov. 9, 2016. The writing is frank, reflective and a piece of modern history.

**2. WE WERE EIGHT YEARS IN POWER,** *TA-NEHISI COATES*

Coates enhanced this collection of columns for the *Atlantic* with fresh material, both personal and historical, to re-examine eight pieces of writing during the eight years of Obama's presidency from the standpoint of living under the Trump presidency.

**3. KILLERS OF THE FLOWER MOON,** *DAVID GRANN*

Grann's retelling of the systemic murder of the Osage tribe of Oklahoma—wealthy for their oil holdings, and wanted dead for the same reason—is a shameful story of the past that feels all too relevant. "The end of *Flower Moon* leaves the reader with a sense of injustice not truly avenged, and it's no fault of the author—it's American history," said TIME's review.

**4. HOMO DEUS,** *YUVAL NOAH HARARI*

The Israeli historian, whose works consistently appear on wonky best-of lists by the likes of Bill Gates, takes on deep philosophies of humanity and ethics, but the stakes of *Homo Deus* are basic: What's next for humankind?

**5. THE RULES DO NOT APPLY,** *ARIEL LEVY*

Levy's memoir sprung from a widely read 2013 personal essay about her miscarriage, "Thanksgiving in Mongolia," published in the *New Yorker,* which won a National Magazine Award. In the book, writes TIME's Eliana Dockterman, "Levy confronts a harsh truth for women with control and choice: we lay claim to everything, but the universe is often indifferent to our demands."

**6. HUNGER,** *ROXANE GAY*

In *Hunger,* Gay writes of her rape, and its ripple effects on her life, including her continued struggle with body image and weight. The book was one of several cultural moments of 2017 that put its writer front and center in the conversation. Gay's cultural import as one of today's most prominent feminists was underscored when she withdrew a different book from Simon & Schuster (Harper published *Hunger*) after the publisher struck a deal (later canceled) with hate-speech evangelist Milo Yiannopoulos. That book was called *How to Be Heard.*

**7. BLIND SPOT,** *TEJU COLE*

Cole's photography and writing join together to form what really is a book of poetry. It's gorgeously cloth-bound and the kind of book you want to keep on display long after you've done the reading.

**8. THE MEANING OF MICHELLE,** *VERONICA CHAMBERS*

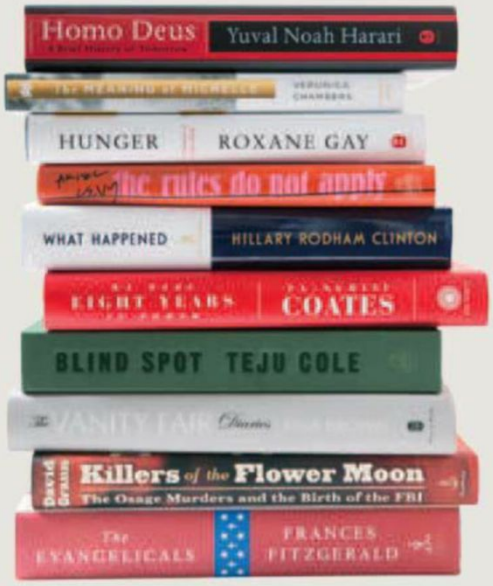
This anthology, edited by journalist and author Veronica Chambers, was published just before the Obamas left the White House, but the essays within feel more relevant than ever. Contributors include Roxane Gay, Ava DuVernay, *Hamilton* star Phillipa Soo and others who examine everything from Michelle Obama's fashion and marriage to her cultural impact as the first African-American First Lady.

**9. THE EVANGELICALS,** *FRANCES FITZGERALD*

At this moment in the news, when continued support for Roy Moore mystifies some observers, understanding the history of evangelicalism and its intersection with politics feels essential. *The Evangelicals* is a guide. "FitzGerald illuminates how a decades-long relationship between the Christian right and the Republican Party (later joined by the Tea Party) coalesced into what looks like a mutually inextricable bloc," said TIME's review.

**10. THE VANITY FAIR DIARIES,** *TINA BROWN*

Brown's brisk, delightfully giddy tales of the start of her storied career make for engaging reading, from the first conversations she had with Condé Nast owner Si Newhouse to land the *Vanity Fair* job in 1983, through the go-go 1980s and on until she became the editor of the *New Yorker* in 1992.

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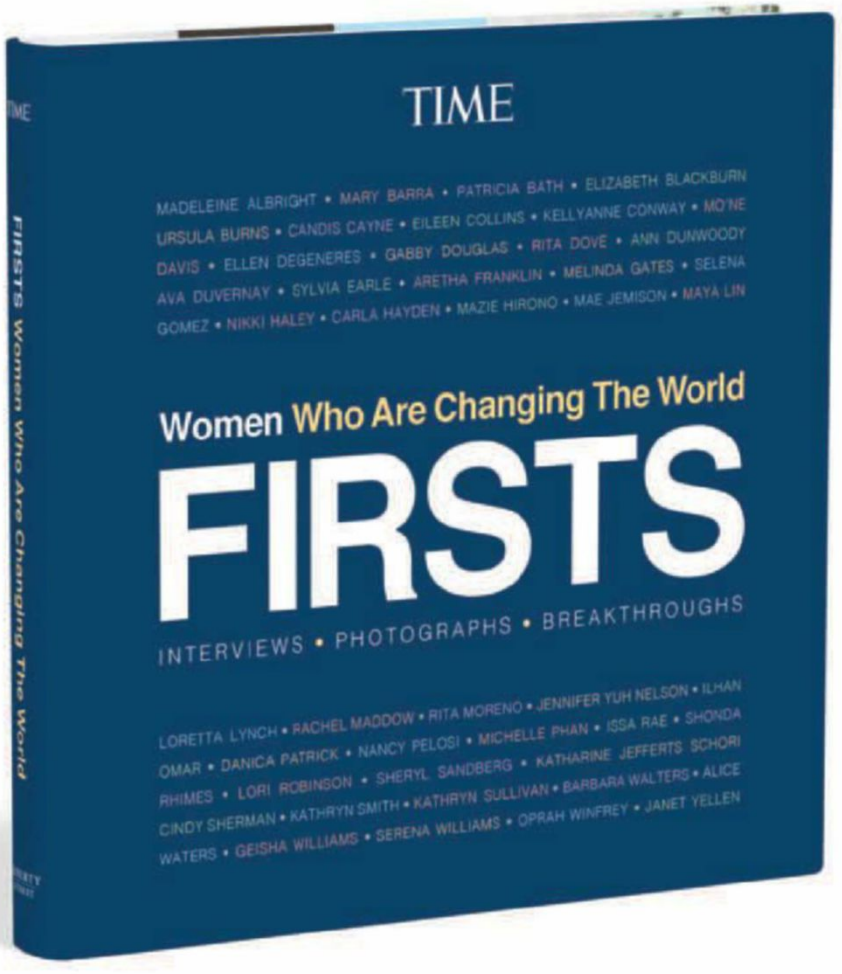
—Gabby Douglas, *Olympic champion gymnast*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# THEATER

THE 10 BEST SHOWS
BY EBEN SHAPIRO

### 1. SWEAT

In awarding Lynn Nottage the Pulitzer Prize for Drama this year, the board called *Sweat* "a nuanced yet powerful drama that reminds audiences of the stacked deck still facing workers searching for the American Dream." The gritty story was informed by the playwright's research in Reading, Pa., and hailed for its sympathetic portrayal of the working class. Where a lesser writer might have gotten preachy, Nottage presciently explored forces that led to President Trump.

### 2. COME FROM AWAY

In the history of musical theater, air-traffic control post-9/11 has to be one of the least likely topics for a feel-good hit show. Yet ripped from history's footnotes, *Come From Away* is set in Gander, Newfoundland, where 38 jets were grounded following the Sept. 11 attacks. The local townsfolk are initially overwhelmed by the diverse hordes of people but eventually rally and show remarkable compassion in caring for their stranded, anxious guests. An optimistic show, it arrived at exactly the right moment.

### 3. INDECENT

Paula Vogel's *Indecent* takes on big themes: intolerance; the power of art, love and sex; and the cruel march of history. Based on a true story, it follows the fate of a controversial Yiddish play involving prostitution and a passionate lesbian love affair—and this production, directed by Rebecca Taichman, was brilliantly staged, with a large and splendid cast.

### 4. THE BAND'S VISIT

*The Band's Visit* was a film, an off-Broadway show and now a full-fledged Broadway delight. Starring Tony Shalhoub and one of New York's most exciting newish actors, Katrina Lenk (who was also excellent in *Indecent*), it's an enchanting musical about an Egyptian band getting stranded in a remote Israeli town. The presence of the outside artists stirs and awakens both the deeply bored residents and the traveling musicians. It was yet another of this year's best shows that rejoiced in the shared humanity of strangers and even foes.

### 5. A DOLL'S HOUSE, PART 2

"From below is heard the reverberation of a heavy door closing." That most famous bit of stage direction ends Ibsen's *A Doll's House,* a blistering meditation on marriage and the high cost of personal fulfillment. The audacious sequel by Lucas Hnath begins with a knock on the same door and proceeds to explore those same questions—which, unsurprisingly, persist.

### 6. OSLO

J.T. Rogers' *Oslo* ran the awards table, winning the Tony for Best Play. Its subject is the seemingly dry behind-the-scenes diplomacy that led to the 1993 peace accords between Israel and the PLO—which, in the play, comes to life as intensely compelling.

▸Isaac took a break from his *Star Wars* duties to earn raves in *Hamlet*

### 7. HAMLET

Oscar Isaac is one of the most intelligent, charismatic actors of his generation, a Pacino for our time. But unlike Pacino, who can get a bit hammy, Isaac's Hamlet was subtle and probing, mesmerizing audiences with his pristine delivery of Shakespeare's most stirring soliloquies.

### 8. & 9. SUNDAY IN THE PARK WITH GEORGE *AND* SWEENEY TODD

It was a bumper year for Sondheim revivals! Jake Gyllenhaal was intense and tuneful in *Sunday in the Park,* opposite the wondrous Annaleigh Ashford. Also first-rate? The Barrow Street Theatre's off-Broadway rendition of *Sweeney Todd*—which gets bonus points for serving meat pies before shows.

### 10. HELLO, DOLLY!

Did the world need another revival of *Hello, Dolly!*? Apparently yes. Bette Midler won a Tony for her giddy performance. Her chemistry with co-star David Hyde Pierce is also excellent; the night I saw it, Pierce broke character and burst out laughing when Midler doused his face with salt in a seemingly improvised move. Until Bernadette Peters and Victor Garber take over in January, enjoy the Divine Miss M's connection with her fierce tribe of followers: her frenzied fans bestow their love, and the star feeds off their worship, beaming it right back.

# ON MEN

BY GILLIAN FLYNN

THE OUTRAGES AND ALLEGATIONS FLASH THROUGH my brain like a nasty, ludicrous slide show of twisted male power. Harvey Weinstein and his potted plant. Charlie Rose and his flapping bathrobe. Roy Moore and the cowboy-booted mall trolling he denies. Louis CK and his humid phone. Matt Lauer and his Bond-villain door bolting. Al Franken and his giddy grabs.

I'd like to scrape up some sense of triumph over the fact that many courageous women have raised their voices. But I don't feel triumphant. I feel humiliated and angry. They hate us. That's my immediate thought, with each new revelation: They hate us. And then, a more sick-making suspicion: They don't care about us enough to hate us. We are simply a form of livestock.

## HOW ARE WE STILL HERE?

No, not all men, and not even most—but enough. Regardless of our intelligence, wit or perseverance, we are still judged by our faces, breasts and asses. By the amount of energy it would take to assault us: Is she worth the trouble of the bathrobe trick?

Women in the workplace. It sounds like a retro Richard Scarry book. I can picture Mother Cat in her '80s lady-blazer, mentoring us on multitasking: Ladies, in addition to doing your jobs, you must devote brain space to dealing with Men in the Workplace. *Dear Mother Cat: My boss cupped my ass during a holiday selfie. Should I just avoid him?* That would mean fewer assignments, career stagnation. *Damn. Dear Mother Cat: A man who I thought was my mentor came on to me. Does that obliterate everything he said about my work?* That would mean you can't tell the good guys from the bad guys. *Damn.*

How are we still *here?* Male entitlement, sure. Power, absolutely. But it all boils down to this: America values women less than men. Don't call me shrill. Or do. Women have shrill voices for a reason: to sound the alarm. The facts: President Trump was elected despite his public braggadocio about his skill at sexual assault; the Republican National Committee is throwing down money to get Roy Moore elected, despite that whole child-molestation thing. The Internet is toxic with slut-shaming and body-shaming, rape culture and revenge porn. Female techies in Silicon Valley are terrorized for using their voices. Threats to women abound. We are underrepresented everywhere, underpaid by everyone and underestimated all over. We are not the People; we are subjects of the Patriarchy.

I look at my daughter (and this is how aware women are of our otherness—I immediately wonder whether a man would write about his kids), my fearless, vibrant 3-year-old daughter, and I worry about whether she'll be crushed by this world. I look at my sweet 7-year-old son and wonder how to ensure that he grows up to be a thoughtful, decent man like his dad. I actually spend more time worrying over my son: sexual harassment is, after all, a men's issue. The fact that this seems like a novel idea—men should lead the charge in figuring out how not to rape us during lunch break—would be hilarious if it weren't heartbreaking. Yes, men (and predatory women; I'm betting the first woman will topple before year's end—equality!) need to do some introspection and work.

What's not going to work is taking our cues from those who think the answer is to segregate women—men who see us as a sexual risk or, worse, the enemy. That's called discrimination. And it's not going to work to keep allegedly abusive men in power—not any of them, whether it's Moore or (break my heart) Franken. That's called status quo. What might work is thinking about how we raise our men-to-be.

My son recently asked me, "Why aren't there shirts that say BOY POWER?" I could have talked male entitlement and the male gaze, the wage gap and Weinstein. But I thought: If the myriad GIRL POWER shirts are meant to encourage female strength and confidence, a BOY POWER shirt might make male empathy and respect dynamic. There were no BOY POWER shirts, so I had to DIY an iron-on. Now, there's at least one.

*Flynn is the author of several novels, including* Gone Girl *and* Sharp Objects, *soon to be an HBO series starring Amy Adams*

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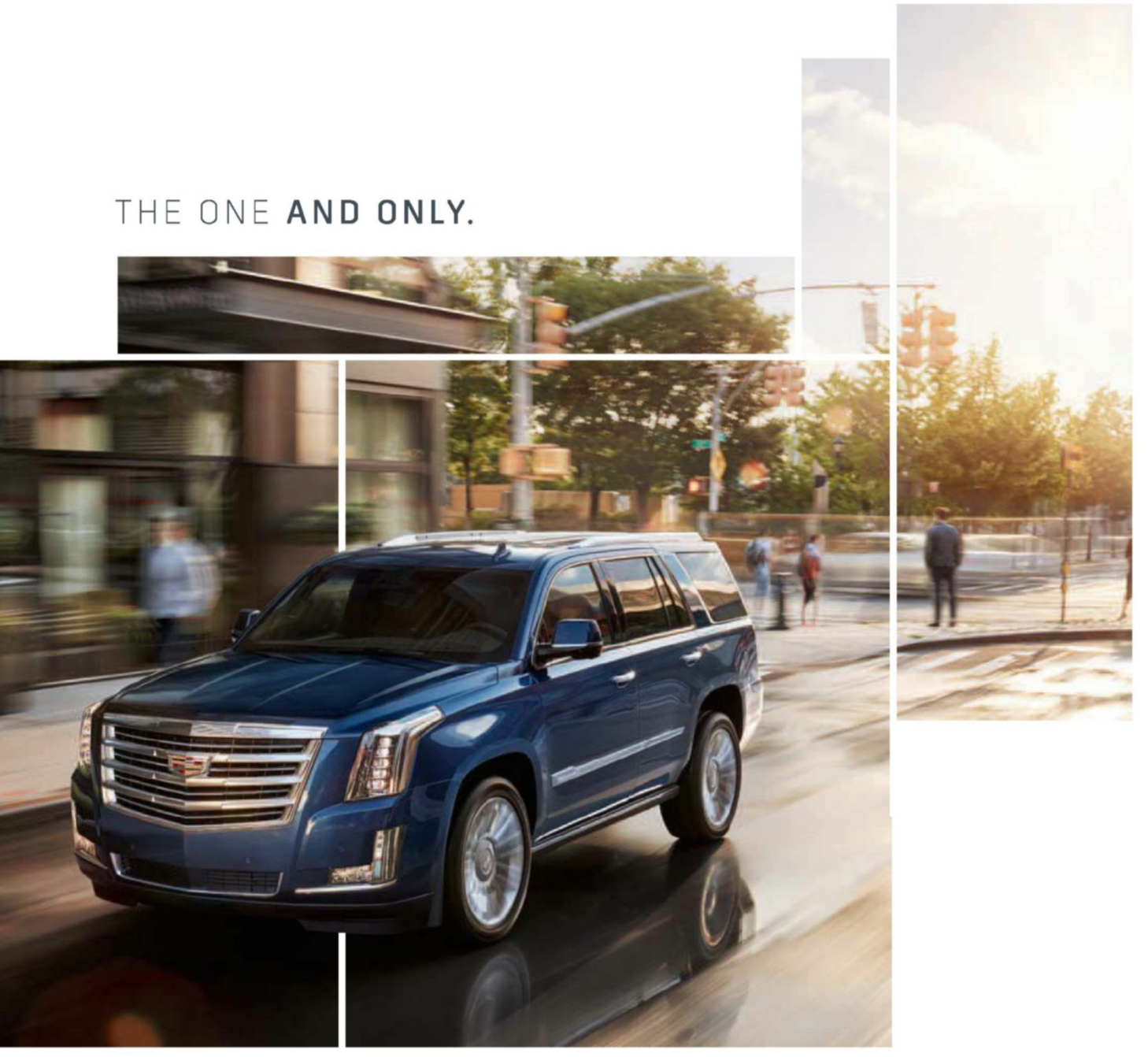

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